

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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POE AS A LITERARY CRITIC

BY JOHN ESTEN COOKE

Edited with an introduction and notes

By N. BRYLLION FAGIN

This essay by the Virginia novelist John Esten Cooke, written a century ago, has just been published for the first time. It was discovered in a private collection and has now been edited with an introduction and notes by N. Bryllion Fagin of the Johns Hopkins University. Written immediately after Poe's death, the essay contains a vivid sketch of Poe as a lecturer and reflects contemporary opinion on Poe's life and work. This is a rare item of interest to all Poe collectors, libraries, and teachers of American literature. A facsimile of a page of the MS. is printed as a frontispiece. Price \$1.00.

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MELVILLE'S USE OF TWO PSEUDO-SCIENCES

While Hawthorne trembled at the power of mesmerism and Poe declaimed that phrenology had "assumed the majesty of a science,"¹ Melville fortunately possessed the perspicacity to measure a little more accurately the true value of two pseudo-scientific systems.

In the middle of the nineteenth century mesmerism was a misunderstood and even dangerous plaything, and psychology was a fledgling science which had wandered into many unscientific by-ways; the popular sciences of the day were phrenology and, in a lesser degree, physiognomy. Melville's critical judgment proved itself sound when he remarked that "all those sallies of ingenuity, having for their end the revelation of human nature on fixed principles, have by the best judges, been excluded with contempt from the ranks of the sciences."² He involved in this condemnation chiefly palmistry, physiognomy, phrenology, and early nineteenth-century psychology.

Yet, while he scoffed at these studies as unscientific, he knew and apparently admired the work of Lavater, was reasonably familiar with Gall and Spurzheim, and alluded frequently to the principles of physiognomy and phrenology in his works.

In *Pierre*, for example, the "very wonderful" book on physiognomy which plays so vital a part in the story is almost certainly

¹ In *The Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 286-287 (March, 1836). Consult the following articles by Edward Hungerford: "Poe and Phrenology," *American Literature*, II, 209-231 (November, 1930), and "Walt Whitman and His Chart of Bumps," *ibid.*, II, 350-384 (January, 1931). See also H. O. Lokensgard, "Oliver Wendell Holmes's 'Phrenological Character,'" *NEQ*, XIII, 711-718 (December, 1940).

² *The Confidence-Man*, p. 91. All quotations from Melville's works are from the Constable Edition, London, 1922-24.

a translation of Lavater's eighteenth-century classic.³ That Melville himself owned a copy of the book is attested by its being listed among the titles purchased on his European tour of 1849-1850.⁴ Pierre's father, it will be remembered, was presumed to believe that in it "the strangest and shadowiest rules were laid down for detecting people's innermost secrets by studying their faces" and refused to have his portrait painted lest his own secret be disclosed.⁵

Melville's interest in phrenology and physiognomy began at least as early as 1847; in that year his comic articles on Zachary Taylor, which appeared in the *Yankee Doodle* magazine, made satirical use of phrenological terminology. "Old Zack's" face, Melville remarked in his third article, constituted a "physiognomical phenomenon, which Lavater would have crossed the Atlantic to contemplate."⁶

Two years later, in *Mardi*, he concluded an interesting description of the island kings with the following statement: "[V]arious their features, as the rows of lips, eyes, and ears in John Caspar Lavater's physiognomical charts. Nevertheless, to a king, all their noses were aquiline."⁷ The sly sarcasm of the second sentence is apparent when one recalls that, in Lavater's charts, a nose of aquiline shape indicated power to rule, act, overcome, and destroy.

The proponents of the pseudo-sciences are humorously invoked at

³ *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* by Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801) is usually translated as *Essays on Physiognomy*.

⁴ See Herman Melville, *Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent*, ed. Eleanor Melville Metcalf (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 85.

⁵ See *Pierre*, p. 109.

⁶ Melville's articles appeared in the weekly issues from July 24 to September 11, 1847. They are discussed by Luther S. Mansfield in "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," *American Literature*, ix, 411-418 (January, 1938).

But Melville must have been acquainted with phrenology almost from boyhood. Nearly everyone of the time seems to have taken some interest in the subject. Merton Sealts brings to my attention a curious manuscript in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection of the New York Public Library—a manuscript which purports to be a "reading" by L. N. Fowler of the "character and talents" of Melville's brother-in-law (Hoadley), dated June 24, 1845.

⁷ *Mardi*, I, 294. An abridged edition of Lavater (London, 1806) has seven excellent plates, each containing six illustrations of physiognomical types. On page 61 is a description of the aquiline nose and its revelations.

the temple of Vivenza, in the same book, where Taji admires the head of Daniel Webster, "one calm grand forehead among those of this mob of chieftains. . . . Gall and Spurzheim! saw you ever such a brow?—poised like an avalanche, under the shadow of a forest! woe betide the devoted valleys below! Lavater! behold those lips—like mystic scrolls!"⁸

Comparable to the brow above was Claggart's, in *White-Jacket*; it was, Melville says, "of the sort phrenologically associated with more than average intellect."⁹ Claggart's wickedness, it would seem, lay not in any deficiency of the intellect but rather of the heart. In the same novel Melville comes to an astonishing conclusion after examining the bumps of Bland, the disgraced master-at-arms; for he says, "Phrenologically, he was without a soul."¹⁰

Before proceeding to discuss Melville's "reading" of the "talents and character" of the great sperm whale, one may note that the pseudo-sciences have a part in the satire of *The Confidence-Man*. The Intelligence-Office manager, wishing to recommend a young boy to the Missourian for employment, has recourse to phrenological evidence of the applicant's fitness:

"As for the boy, by a lucky chance, I have a very promising little fellow now in my eye—a very likely little fellow, indeed."

"Honest?"

"As the day is long. Might trust him with untold millions. Such, at least, were the marginal observations on the phrenological chart of his head, submitted to me by the mother."¹¹

Earlier in the same story, the man with the willow, in attempting to gain the confidence of the melancholy young man, has made use of a knowledge of phrenology to flatter him: "Phrenologically, my young friend, you would seem to have a well-developed head, and large; but cribbed within the ugly view, the Tacitus view,

⁸ *Mardi*, II, 227.

⁹ *White-Jacket*, p. 31. Phrenologists believed, with the physiognomists, that a large, high forehead revealed intellectual capacity. See, for example, George Combe, *A System of Phrenology* (Boston, 1839), pp. 33-34, 433-434.

¹⁰ *White-Jacket*, p. 234.

¹¹ *The Confidence-Man*, p. 170. Since there does not seem to have been an organ of honesty in the phrenological system, this trait must have been determined indirectly through a study of the organs of secretiveness, conscientiousness, etc.

your large brain, like your large ox in the contracted field, will but starve the more."¹² Very likely the melancholy young man was aware that the Phrenological Society had collected casts representing the skulls of Bruce, Raphael, La Fontaine, and others, and that they all were large; further, that the busts and portraits of Bacon, Shakespeare, and Napoleon indicated large heads.¹³

But it was in *Moby-Dick* that Melville applied his knowledge of the pseudo-sciences most fruitfully. Here he subjected the whale to a phrenological and physiognomical examination of some thoroughness. The suggestion for such a scrutiny probably came from Cheever.¹⁴

Melville approached his project not with entire certainty:

To scan the lines of his face, or feel the bumps of the head of this leviathan; this is a thing which no physiognomist or phrenologist has as yet undertaken. Such an enterprise would seem almost as hopeful as for Lavater to have scrutinised the wrinkles on the Rock of Gibraltar, or for Gall to have mounted a ladder and manipulated the dome of the Pantheon. Still, in that famous work of his, Lavater not only treats of the various faces of men, but also attentively studies the faces of horses, birds, serpents, and fish;¹⁵ and dwells in detail upon the modifications of expression discernible therein. Nor have Gall and his disciple Spurzheim failed to throw out some hints touching the phrenological characteristics of other beings than man. Therefore, though I am but ill qualified for a pioneer, in the application of these two semi-sciences to the whale, I will do my endeavour.¹⁶

He found that, among its other characteristics, the whale's forehead has "that horizontal, semi-crescentic depression in [its] middle, which, in man, is Lavater's mark of genius."¹⁷ This is a rather promising beginning, but unfortunately it leads nowhere. Directly approached, the whale's head offers too large and rare a puzzle. To the physiognomist, says Melville, the whale seems a sphinx; and "to the phrenologist his brain seems that geometrical circle which it is impossible to square."¹⁸

¹² *The Confidence-Man*, pp. 32-33.

¹³ See Combe, p. 527.

¹⁴ Henry T. Cheever, *The Whale and His Captors* (New York, 1850). Cheever wondered why phrenologists had not made a study of the whale's cranium, pp. 156-157.

¹⁵ Lavater even studied insects.

¹⁶ *Moby-Dick*, II, 80.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 83.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 84.

The whale's brain, a mere handful in a skull twenty feet long, can hardly be identified, Melville complains. This fact mocks the phrenologist. "It is plain, then," he says, "that phrenologically the head of this leviathan, in the creature's living intact state, is an entire delusion."¹⁹ Nevertheless, a persistent investigator might approach the problem from another perspective.

If you unload his skull of its spermy heaps and then take a rear view of its rear end, which is the high end, you will be struck by its resemblance to the human skull, beheld in the same situation, and from the same point of view. Indeed, place this reversed skull (scaled down to the human magnitude) among a plate of men's skulls, and you would involuntarily confound it with them; and remarking the depressions on one part of its summit, in phrenological phrase you would say—This man had no self-esteem and no veneration.²⁰

But since the brain and the skull of the whale are both unsatisfactory subjects for a thorough phrenological examination, Melville proposes a new and ingenious proceeding:

Now, I consider [he says] that the phrenologists have omitted an important thing in not pushing their investigations from the cerebellum through the spinal canal. For I believe that much of a man's character will be found betokened in his backbone. I would rather feel your spine than your skull, whoever you are. A thin joist of a spine never yet upheld a full and noble soul. I rejoice in my spine, as in the firm audacious staff of that flag which I fling half out to the world.

Apply this spinal branch of phrenology to the sperm whale. His cranial cavity is continuous with the first neck-vertebra; and in that vertebra the bottom of the spinal canal will measure ten inches across, being eight in height, and of a triangular figure with the base downward. As it passes through the remaining vertebræ the canal tapers in size, but for a considerable distance remains of large capacity. Now, of course, this canal is filled with much the same strangely fibrous substance—the spinal cord—as the brain; and directly communicates with the brain. And what is still more, for many feet after emerging from the brain's cavity, the spinal cord remains of an undecreasing girth, almost equal to that of the brain. Under all these circumstances, would it be unreasonable to survey and map out the whale's spine phrenologically? For, viewed in this light, the wonderful comparative smallness of his brain proper is more than compensated by the wonderful comparative magnitude of his spinal cord.

But leaving this hint to operate as it may with phrenologists, I would merely assume the spinal theory for a moment, in reference to the sperm whale's hump. This august hump, if I mistake not, rises over one of the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 84.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 84-85.

larger vertebræ, and is, therefore, in some sort, the outer convex mould of it. From its relative situation, then, I should call this high hump the organ of firmness or indomitableness in the sperm whale.²¹

All this, one must own, is a curious mixture of the purest fooling, some reasonably accurate anatomical information, and a shrewd conjecture with relation to the importance of the spinal cord.

These examples will suffice to show Melville's interest in physiognomy and phrenology. It is probably safe to assume that this interest arose out of his deeper concern with human character and conduct, as well as out of his natural appetite for knowledge of all types. The significant thing is that he was not, like others of his time, deceived by the pretensions of these two pseudo-sciences to respectability, but instead recognized the limitations of their methods and theories. His use of the jargon of these two studies added sometimes humor and sometimes irony to his writing; now and again his literary skill in such instances was effective enough to make him appear nearly, but never quite, serious.

TYRUS HILLWAY

New London Junior College

NEW LIGHT ON THE MAUPASSANT FAMILY

The documents given below,¹ published for the first time, throw light on a significant chapter in the history of the Maupassant family. Guy's father, Gustave de Maupassant,² had received for

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 85-86.

¹ From the present writer's collection, in a group of Maupassant letters originally in the collection of the famous bibliophile, Jules Le Petit. These letters constituted lot 2143 in the Le Petit sale of 1918, described as follows in the sale catalogue: "Correspondance de Guy de Maupassant avec M. et Mme Louis Le Poittevin, réunion de trente-trois lettres et billets autographes signés de Guy de Maupassant. Correspondance amicale renfermant de nombreux renseignements intéressants sur Guy de Maupassant, sur son frère, la succession de son père et de sa mère, ses divers déplacements à Etretat, dans le midi de la France et en Italie. On y a joint une lettre intéressante de Louis Le Poittevin à Maupassant." These letters were later acquired by the well-known Paris dealer, Pierre Berès, from whom they were subsequently acquired by the present writer.

² Gustave de Maupassant, father of Guy, became a hard-working member of a brokerage firm in Paris after leading a somewhat checkered existence

years an annual allowance of 4000 francs from his own father, Jules de Maupassant,³ of which he contributed 1600 francs to his wife, for the support of their two children, Guy and Hervé.⁴ Before his death early in 1875, however, Jules de Maupassant saw his fortune, at one time considerable, reduced to practically nothing. Indeed, his financial situation must have been exceedingly precarious, for in a letter written by Guy to his cousin Louis Le Poittevin, dated September 23, 1874, when Jules de Maupassant was expected to die at any moment, we read the following striking lines: "Mon père a reçu une dépêche de Charles Douvre, l'appelant sans retard. Il n'a pas voulu s'y rendre, craignant de n'être pas maître de lui-même en pareil moment et de se laisser arracher des promesses qu'il ne voulait pas faire."⁵ Considering the father's financial plight, Gustave de Maupassant was unwilling to accept without reservations a share in his father's estate, for there was the risk of his being obliged to meet claims which might be made against the estate.

Further light on this "drame de famille" is provided in a letter by Gustave de Maupassant, written in 1892, at a time when his famous son was completely oblivious to all material preoccupations, since he was then in Dr. Blanche's insane asylum at Passy:

Il y a trente ans et quelques mois, la vie en commun avec Madame de Maupassant n'étant plus possible nous nous sommes séparés à l'amiable. On fit un simple acte sur papier timbré. Madame de Maupassant prenait son bien et, en outre, sur la pension de quatre mille francs que me faisait mon père, je lui servais une pension de seize cents francs pour les enfants. Une dizaine d'années après, mon père perdit toute sa fortune. Ma dot a

as a dashing young man after his marriage to Laure Le Poittevin, sister of Alfred Le Poittevin. The Maupassants separated when Guy was about twelve years old. Throughout his life, Guy maintained cordial relations with his father. After his death, the father took active measures to assure adequate provision from Guy's estate for Simone de Maupassant, the author's niece.

³ Jules de Maupassant, paternal grandfather of Guy, was born in Paris and died in Rouen in 1875. He had lived in the capital of Normandy for many years, and as early as 1840 had acquired property at La Neuville, where the Maupassant family became intimate friends of the Le Poittevins.

⁴ Cf. letter of Gustave de Maupassant to M. Jacob, published by Lumbroso, Albert, *Souvenirs sur Maupassant*, Rome, Bocca, 1905, p. 476.

⁵ *Chroniques, études, correspondance de Guy de Maupassant*, Paris, Gründ, 1938, p. 202.

été supprimée à partir de ce jour, et comme je n'avais pas un sou je suis entré comme deuxième caissier chez Edward Jules, agent de change.⁶

Guy himself had been leading a highly impecunious existence ever since settling in Paris immediately after the Franco-Prussian war. For a while he was enrolled at the law school of the University of Paris; then, with the aid of influential friends of his father's, he succeeded in entering the civil service which he was to leave only after the brilliant success of *Boule de Suif*. For ten years, however, his sensitive nature suffered excruciatingly from the petty economies which his very modest salary imposed on him. Though he sometimes complained bitterly, particularly to his mother and Gustave Flaubert, he was willing to endure any privation while completing his literary apprenticeship under the intransigent eye of the master of Croisset. But once the pendulum of economic fluctuation had swung in his favor, he spent with a lavishness, and at times recklessness, that only his previous years of extreme poverty could explain.⁷

GUY DE MAUPASSANT TO LOUIS LE POITTEVIN

Paris, ce vendredi [March 1875] *

Mon cher Louis,

Mon père, qui est souffrant en ce moment, me charge de te prier de vouloir bien lui faire savoir, aussitôt que tu le pourras, si la succession de mon grand-père est *enfin* acceptée sous bénéfice d'inventaire. Nous avons pris un avoué ici qui craint beaucoup que M. Gauthier, malgré sa dernière lettre dans laquelle il dit qu'il va accepter cette succession sous bénéfice,

⁶ Cf. *op. cit.* in note 4 above, p. 476. The letter should obviously have been dated 1892 rather than 1902.

⁷ In that connection the poet Auguste Dorchain, a friend of Maupassant, contributes the following hitherto unpublished testimony: "Oui, François était là. Quand il y avait quelque chose à payer, Maupassant lui tendait, sans regarder ni compter, son portefeuille bourré, gonflé, débordant de billets de banque, où ce fidèle serviteur,—fidèle, espérons-le, car il eût pu aisément "faire sa pelote"—puisait sans contrôle. Comme il paraissait être un peu le confident de son maître, nous l'avons surnommé *Scapin*. Simple souvenir classique, molièresque, comme celui qui nous vint tout naturellement à l'esprit lorsque, quelques années plus tard, François publia, —dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, s'il vous plaît,—ses Souvenirs sur les dernières années de son maître: *Et mon valet de chambre est mis dans la gazette*." (From a letter to Georges Normandy, now in the present writer's collection).

* Cf. date of Gustave de Maupassant's letter below.

ne finisse par la refuser. La conduite de cet homme étant inexplicable, notre avoué ici nous conseillait même de l'attaquer, prétendant que le fait de réclamer une dette personnelle quand on est chargé de demander le bénéfice d'inventaire pour une succession, entraînant l'obligation, pour l'héritier, s'il payait cette dette, de payer toutes les autres, constituait fraude de la part d'un homme d'affaire.

M. Cullembourg, consulté sur ce que devait coûter le procès verbal fait par Gauthier, évalue le montant des frais à 12 frs. au lieu de 140 frs.

Encore une chose. Comme nous ne voulons pas pousser les affaires plus loin avec cet homme, mon père te prie de lui réclamer les lettres de mon grand-père et de Mme Cord'homme⁹ à mon père, qu'il lui a envoyées. Ces lettres étant d'une importance capitale, nous serions désolés si elles disparaissaient.

Tu serais bien gentil de me répondre le plus tôt possible.

Je t'embrasse¹⁰

Joseph Prunier¹¹

Mille compliments à ta femme et à ton beau-père.

Paris, ce mardi

Mon cher Louis,

Si je ne t'ai pas répondu plus tôt, c'est que j'ai passé la journée d'hier à consulter notaires et avocats, et maintenant que ces messieurs m'ont répondu—je puis te dire—Ton M. Gauthier est un fripon.

Le susdit Monsieur, après m'avoir dit devant toi qu'il croyait que mon grand-père ne laissait aucune dette a écrit hier à mon père pour réclamer 90 frs. que mon grand-père lui devrait à lui Gauthier, plus 140 frs. pour menus frais. Or la succession n'est pas encore acceptée par lui, au nom de mon père. La-dessus, trouvant que cette conduite était loin d'être claire, j'ai été consulter un avocat et voici ce qu'il m'a répondu—

“L'homme qui a fait cela est un fripon et vous n'avez qu'à annuler immédiatement la procuration qu'il a entre les mains. Il est inconcevable qu'un homme d'affaires chargé d'accepter une succession sous bénéfice d'inventaire essaye de se faire payer une dette à lui, avant l'acceptation. Il essaye d'entraîner votre père dans l'acceptation pure et simple. Car si cette dette était payée, M. de Maupassant se trouverait engagé par là à payer toutes les autres qui pourraient se présenter. C'est un acte de friponnerie et d'audace inqualifiable pour un légiste. De plus, un homme d'affaire liquidant une succession, qui vient réclamer une dette sous cette rubrique (90 frs. dus à l'occasion de la vente de La Neuville¹²) sans autre justification, mais il faudrait qu'un héritier fut stupide pour payer une dette aussi peu motivée. Quant aux frais de succession, cela se borne, d'après les lettres

⁹ Presumably mother of Charles Cord'homme, Louis' step-father.

¹⁰ The next word is illegible, and the rest of the sentence contains one of those unprintable gauloiseries in which Maupassant and his friends frequently indulged.

¹¹ One of several pseudonyms used by Maupassant.

¹² Where Jules de Maupassant had owned property.

mêmes de M. Gauthier, à un procès verbal tenant lieu d'inventaire. Cela ne peut pas coûter plus de 20 à 30 frs."

Le soir, j'ai été trouver M. Fontaine¹³ et lui ai montré les lettres de M. Gauthier. M. Fontaine était indigné. Il m'a dit, "Cet homme serait un notaire, il y en aurait assez pour le faire casser. Car cette dette payée, M. de Maupassant se trouve forcé de payer tout et il détruit par là les sûretés fournies par le bénéfice d'inventaire." Il ne comprend rien non plus aux 140 frs. de frais qu'il réclame, et il m'a dit d'écrire *de suite de suite (sic)* à M. Cullembourg pour faire annuler la procuration de mon père, ce que j'ai fait, M. Fontaine étant persuadé que M. Gauthier est l'agent des Cord'homme,¹⁴ tant cette manière d'agir lui paraît extraordinaire.

Quand j'ai raconté cela à Robert la Tôque,¹⁵ il s'est mis à rire et m'a dit, C'est cela qui ne m'étonne pas. Il y a longtemps que j'avais entendu parler du petit Gauthier comme d'un fripon.

Maintenant au tableau. Je te trouve plaisant!! Je te trouve réussi!! Je te trouve¹⁶ Comment, j'ai ma chambre encombrée d'horreurs. Un sacré caïman¹⁷ que j'ai été obligé de suspendre à mon plafond ne sachant où le mettre et qui fait se foutre de moi toutes les personnes que je reçois, des arêtes de poisson¹⁸ que je suis obligé de mettre sur mon lit le jour et sur un fauteuil la nuit. Et tu viens me menacer de mettre un tableau de *Bellangé* au mont de piété quand tu possèdes une maison entière!!!!!!!

Rouennais! Rouennais! Rouennais! Eh nom de dieu de bougre¹⁹ ne peux-tu le monter dans une chambre supérieure. Je vais bruler ton fusil à rouet, manger ton caïman et faire de l'extrait de Lubig avec l'arête d'espardon.²⁰

Or, ouis ceci—

Cherche un emballer et dis-moi vite ce que cela peut coûter de faire emballer cette croute que je prendrai en allant à Etretat.²¹

¹³ Presumably father of Guy's close friend, Léon Fontaine, familiarly known as "Petit Bleu."

¹⁴ "Après le décès de sa femme . . . M. Jules de Maupassant alla habiter à Rouen, rue des Iroquois, 23, la maison de commerce de vins de la famille Cord'homme." (Cf. Dumesnil, René, *Guy de Maupassant*, Paris, Tallandier, 1947, note on p. 77). The inference is inevitable that Jules de Maupassant owed the Cord'hommes some debts and that the latter were trying to make Gustave de Maupassant assume responsibility for them.

¹⁵ Robert Pinchon, another of Guy's intimate friends.

¹⁶ Another unprintable word.

¹⁷ Cf. note 20 below.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Several unprintable words.

²⁰ The acquisition of these articles is related by Maupassant in prose, verse, and illustrations of the most comic vein in a letter to Louis Le Poittevin dated February 20, 1875 (reproduced in *op. cit.* in note 5 above, pp. 204-5).

²¹ Where Guy's mother had a villa, "Les Verguies." Louis Le Poittevin was in Rouen.

Mais trouve un emballer plus honnête que tes hommes d'affaires.

.....²²

A toi

Joseph Prunier

Mille compliments à ta femme et à ton beau-père.

GUSTAVE DE MAUPASSANT TO LOUIS LE POITTEVIN

[Paris], ce 15 mars 75²³

Mon cher Louis,

Présente-toi chez M. Gautier [*sic*] avec cette lettre et réclame-lui ma procuration. M. Gautier devait accepter la succession de mon père sous bénéfice d'inventaire et il n'a encore rien fait.

Il devait savoir que la première chose dans une acceptation de succession sous bénéfice d'inventaire, c'est de ne pas faire *acte d'héritier* et la première chose qu'il fait c'est de m'engager à lui payer une prétendue dette de mon père, c'est à dire à faire précisément acte d'héritier. Ensuite il me réclame une somme insensée pour pouvoir accepter cette succession, après m'avoir écrit que cette acceptation a une simple conversation avec le juge de paix. Du reste, j'ai été mis au courant. Cela *coûte 12 francs*, sur lesquels il y a *trois francs pour l'avoué*. En présence de ces faits, je viens te prier de retirer ma procuration, et tu me la renverras ensuite.

Je te prierai de passer après chez M. Cullembourg pour le prévenir que la procuration est retirée et pour le prier d'agir dans le plus bref délai.

J'embrasse Lucie et je te serre bien affectueusement la main.

G.(ustave) de Maupassant

J'ai retrouvé les deux lettres que je réclamaïs. Je n'avais envoyé que la copie. Il n'y a donc rien à réclamer en fait de lettres. Tu peux communiquer ma lettre à M. Gautier.

J'autorise Monsieur Louis le (*sic*) Poittevin, mon neveu, à reprendre chez Monsieur Gautier, demeurant 50 rue Beauvoisin, une procuration que je lui avais donnée pour accepter la succession de mon père sous bénéfice d'inventaire.

Paris, ce 15 mars 75

G. de Maupassant

ARTINE ARTINIAN

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²² One line of *gauloiserie* omitted.

²³ This letter is accompanied by its original envelope, addressed to "Monsieur Louis le Poittevin, rue de Crosne, Rouen, S. Inférieure." The envelope bears a legible Paris postmark with a March 15, 1875 date.

STANZA THREE OF PAUL VALÉRY'S "CIMETIÈRE
MARIN"

S. Johansen writes:

La strophe suivante du *Cimetière marin* est dans le même genre que la strophe citée de *La Pythie*; toutes les métaphores de cette strophe doivent décrire la mer:

Stable trésor, temple simple à Minerve,
Masse de calme, et visible réserve,
Eau sourcilleuse, Œil qui gardes en toi
Tant de sommeil sous un voile de flamme,
O mon silence! . . . Edifice dans l'âme
Mais comble d'or aux mille tuiles, Toit!

Huit métaphores accumulées dans six vers et se terminant par l'horrible cacophonie "mille tuiles, Toit."¹

A close reading of the stanza does not in my opinion confirm this drumhead condemnation.

Stanza one has presented the sea at midday, rewarding object of vision when thought is over. Stanza two, the shimmering sea appears to embody deepest peace, and with the sun is representative of eternity. To be absorbed in its contemplation is most authentically to know.

Stable trésor, temple simple à Minerve,

with this beginning the third stanza evokes the sea's depths and wealth of potentialities, whereas the first two had not sought to penetrate a glittering surface. Amidst the sacred store the goddess of wisdom may easily find her way, not so others. This interpretation is rhythmically superior and preferable also in meaning to that which makes of the sea a simple edifice consecrated to the goddess. "Minerve," linking up with "savoir," last word of the previous stanza, begins, too, a series of images which end in revelation.

Masse de calme, et visible réserve,

paradoxically, since mass is a property of material things and calmness a quality. In the second epithet, the bond and the con-

¹ Svend Johansen, *Le Symbolisme, Etude sur le style des symbolistes français*, Copenhagen, Einar Munksgaard, 1945, p. 113.

trast between unseen depths and the surface alone visible are expressed with the greatest concentration of means.

The following line continues to evoke seen and unseen:

Eau sourcilleuse, Œil qui gardes en toi

except that the novelty introduced, or reached along the image-chain, is a *seeing* as well as a *seen*. The "eyebrowed water"; if so endowed, then also possessing an Eye, whose capital letter both personifies, and symbolises the awe-arousing monstrousness of the sea thus intuited as a Cyclopean eye. Stanza three, it may be noted here, is the first to be written in the second person. Its vocative forcefulness is strengthened by a rhythmic device. In the three opening lines there are no fewer than five feet of one syllable, made up by the first or only syllable of *Stable*, *temple*, *Masse*, *Eau*, *Œil*.

The personification begun in the previous line is continued

Tant de sommeil sous un voile de flamme

by this identification of the sea's unrealised possibilities with slumber, a slumber strangely hidden under a fiery veil, and line five records the shock of revelation. All invocations of an external reality, all hold also for, are identical with the poet's consciousness: the treasure, the temple is within.

O mon silence! . . . Edifice dans l'âme

—and exemplifying the circularity so often found in poems, the poet ends the stanza with a wondering return to contemplate the vision outside, which at the same time magically is his innermost self:

Mais comble d'or aux mille tuiles, Toit!

His fascination renewed, he has expanded the image of the sea which begins and will round off the poem, the sea as a roof, split up—yet not split—into uncounted gleaming tiles.

Can we agree with Johansen that they are cacophonous? Yes, if they are cut down to "aux mil' tuil's, Toit," but not when each syllable is given its due. The following curious remark by a French writer may be accounted for in the same way:

Dans le premier poème que j'aie lu de Valéry — par hasard et ignorant tout de lui, jusqu'à son nom — il y a des vers qui me rendent malade:

Patience, patience,

Patience dans l'azur . . .

C'est presque aussi douloureux — non, pourtant! — que l'horrible chose par où débute l'*Art poétique* de Boileau.²

Shorn respectively of three and of two of their syllables, these two lines trot inelegantly along.

What, to sum up, has Valéry done in this third stanza? He has taken a banal comparison, the sea and consciousness, and revived it, for it has been freshly experienced. Nor are we placed merely before the brute fact of the experience: true to his interests in the dawning, the not yet born, Valéry relives the stages by which, along a chain of associated images, the insight is naïvely won. These "difficult" verses represent the most primitive form of thought, and find, as though accidentally and to the poet's own astonishment, that the chain once ended establishes an identity. His attitude has not been that of a narrator or of a logician. Face to face with the object of his experience, he has treated it as a living thing and has called it by name. More directly than did the wanderer who discovered that "the footprint in the sand" was his own, he has come to see himself in the external (in other poems he uses the Narcissus motif, or finds intelligence symbolised by a pomegranate). The grammatical structure of the stanza is equally primitive. Although divided by punctuation into two sentences, there is only one verb, and that in a subordinate clause. Through a series of syntactically unrelated epithets, "the poet of the intelligence" expresses what for some is the definitive revelation, Brahman as Atman, ultimate object and ultimate subject as one.

Valéry was not, however, a promulgator of Oriental doctrines. His sense of the fusion between sea and consciousness, never widened to embrace other experienceable things, occupies the poem's third stanza, not the last. In later verses he succumbs to the "temptation of the Occident," as Malraux has called it, falling away from the intuition of oneness, a prey to anguish before the chasm known, in a rational, reflective, conceptualized act of judgment, to separate the solid world that confronts us ("En soi se pense et convient à soi-même") from human subjectivity's nostalgic void ("O pour moi seul, à moi seul, en moi-même . . . J'attends l'écho de ma grandeur interne . . . Sonnant dans l'âme un creux toujours futur!") — an impasse from which escape can be found only in

² H. Bremond, *La Poésie pure*, Paris, Grasset, 1926, p. 85.

action, by intimate contact with, struggle against, emergence from the element which hitherto the poet has contemplated passively:

Une fraîcheur, de la mer exhalée,
Me rend mon âme . . . O puissance salée!
Courons à l'onde en rejaillir vivant!

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ELIE LUZAC'S REFUTATION OF LA METTRIE

L'Homme plus que machine appeared anonymously in 1748, the same year as La Mettrie's *L'Homme machine*, and was a point-by-point refutation of the latter's scandalizing materialism. Until the turn of the present century, it was generally considered to be the attempt made by Elie Luzac, the publisher of *L'Homme machine*, to clear himself of the imputation of materialist sympathies. Only once was it included, for reasons unknown, with La Mettrie's writings, in the *Œuvres philosophiques* of 1774, not in the final complete edition of 1796. In the next century, the *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes* of Barbier must simply have followed the prevailing opinion when, without decisive comment, it attributed *L'Homme plus que machine* to Luzac. Since 1900, however, its authorship has been a point of controversy. J. E. Poritzky's discovery of several significant statements contemporary with the book's appearance, caused him to ascribe it to La Mettrie.¹ His conclusion was commonly accepted by scholars of eighteenth-century materialism, including R. Boissier in his comprehensive study of La Mettrie.² Contrary to this view, the authorship of Luzac has been defended, exclusively on the weight of "internal evidence," in Hester Hastings' recent analysis of notions of "animal intelligence" in the book.³ But, for lack of factually decisive informa-

¹ J. E. Poritzky, *J. O. de Lamettrie, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin, 1900). The principal source given is an item in the *Goettingische Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (30 Mai 1748) attributing the work to La Mettrie on the basis of "reliable reports" [*nach zuverlässigen Nachrichten*].

² Raymond Boissier, *La Mettrie, médecin, pamphlétaire et philosophe* (Paris, 1931), p. 168. E. Bergmann had also followed Poritzky in *Die Satiren des Herrn Maschine* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 25-26.

³ Hester Hastings, "Did La Mettrie write *L'Homme plus que machine*?"

tion, neither side has thus far succeeded in proving its attribution. It is now possible to re-examine this issue in the light of fresh and conclusive evidence, Elie Luzac's own acknowledgment that the book was of his composition.

None of the participants in the above controversy has been aware of a fact that alters completely the problem before us. Nowhere has mention been made of the second edition of *L'Homme plus que machine*, dated 1755 and printed privately in Goettingen by the author, Elie Luzac.⁴ This volume, now *rarissime*, was probably issued in limited number. That it should have eluded so much persistent effort to determine the authorship of *L'Homme plus que machine* is not surprising, since it is not mentioned among Luzac's works in standard bibliographical sources.⁵ The *Avertissement* accompanying this edition makes entirely clear that the work is Luzac's own and suggests, incidentally, the reasons for its reprinting. Having left Holland owing to difficulties incurred by the publication of *L'Homme machine*, Luzac had retired to a very modest life in Goettingen. His friends seem to have urged a re-publication of *L'Homme plus que machine* as a means of earning money: "J'en donne une nouvelle edition uniquement, parceque mes Correspondans me le demandent; & que le commerce veut, que l'on imprime ce qui se consomme." It may be noted, in passing, that Luzac at the time regarded his refutation of La Mettrie as possessing certain defects. Thinking it, however, an effective enough dose against the temptation of materialist ideas, he made no revisions.

The 1755 edition of *L'Homme plus que machine*, then, establishes Luzac's authorship. It is extremely unlikely, moreover, that Luzac falsely attributed the work to himself. Where would the falsification have been more detectable than in Goettingen, where

PMLA, LI (June, 1936), pp. 440-448. See also Valkhoff, "Elie Luzac," *Neophilologus*, 1919, pp. 10-21, 106-113, for additional "internal evidence" of Luzac's authorship.

⁴ *L'Homme plus que machine*. Ouvrage qui sert a refuter les principaux argumens, sur lesquels on fonde le Materialisme: par Elie Luzac, Fils. Seconde Edition. Gottingue, chez l'Auteur. 1755. In-12. I am indebted to the valuable Vignaud Collection of the Library of the University of Michigan for the use of this precious volume.

⁵ There is no trace of it in any of the following: Quérard, *La France littéraire*; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*; Michaud, *Biographie universelle*; Haag, *La France protestante*.

Poritzky's source had several years earlier ascribed the book to La Mettrie "according to reliable reports"? Nor would such an irregularity have passed without comment of some kind in the eighteenth century if, with La Mettrie dead since 1751 and the need for secrecy gone, well-informed persons had known for a fact that the French philosopher was the real author. In the total absence of evidence to the contrary, then, the edition of 1755 must be accepted as both unfalsified and authentic, and, given the information it offers, there remains no reason whatever for thinking that Elie Luzac was not its author.

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ONCE MORE, *Durendal*

In 1936, Professor Gerhard Rohlfs published an article in *Archiv*,¹ in which after reviewing all known factual information pertinent to the subject, he sought to prove that the name of Roland's famous sword, *Durendal* (variants: *Durendart*, *Durandart*, etc.) derived from O. F. *dur* + *ent* (< *inde*) + *art* (3d sg. pr. ind. of O. F. *ardre*, 'to burn,' 'to flame'). Though this etymology seems ingenious, and at first glance, rather convincing, it rests on the primary postulate that the forms of the name ending in *-art* are more primitive and thus of greater authority than the *Durendal* of the Oxford *Roland*. That is, Professor Rohlfs is not disposed to allow the authority of the Oxford *Roland* in this respect to extend farther back than the date of *O* (1150, according to him), despite the fact that although the word, *Durendal*, occurs frequently in *O*, it is always spelled the same. Thus to the MHG version of *circa* 1130 (?) is attributed more authority by R. than he concedes to the Oxford *Roland*! Still another objection is to be raised: If the etymon is O. Fr., it would have been unnecessary to explain it to near-contemporaries, for it would have been just as intelligible to them as the names of the other five swords mentioned in the work (*Hauteclere*, *Joiouse*, *Preciose*, *Almace*, and *Murglais*), none of which, to my knowledge, called forth a mediaeval gloss, although

¹ "Was bedeutet der Schwertname Durendal?", *Archiv* CLIX (1936), 57-64.

the last two evoke discussion from modern scholars. But as Rohlf himself shows,² attempts to explain the meaning of *Durendal* began with the *Pseudo-Turpin* and continued thereafter. Thus the probabilities are that the name was not French. At all events, R.'s article constitutes a thorough bibliographical exposé of the research done on this problem before 1936, and of its fundamental backgrounds.

In 1939, Professor Leo Spitzer had already challenged Rohlf's conclusions on other grounds: notably, that *dur end' art* was far-fetched, bookish, and inadequately attested.³ In his article Professor S. proposed instead an onomatopoeic variant of **drelindal*; but in the following year he withdrew his proposal⁴ in favor of the suggestion of A. Dauzat,⁵ who had argued for a compound of the personal name, *Durand*, implying 'constancy.'

Although D.'s argument (*post* Spitzer) implying that the suffix *-al* with respect to the personal name, *Durand*, functioned similarly to the feminine ending given to the personal name, *Flaubert* (thus converting it into the sword name, *Floberge*) is a cogent one, one serious objection occurs to me. This objection is based partly on Professor Spitzer's own remark in his original article. He says:⁶ "The sensationalism of the *Chanson de Roland* is of a rather naïve sort: in *esterminals* . . . a rather rare Latin word was used to produce the effect of *exoticism*; by *Durendal*, an onomatopoeic word somewhat travestied, *shivers of admiration and horror* were probably produced."⁷ But what exotic effect, or what shivers could possibly be produced by a name as common as *Durand*, already attested in Latin form during the Carolingian period?⁸ Even though it may have come to mean 'constancy' or 'endurance' in Italy,⁹ it would most certainly seem incongruously prosaic in comparison with such names as *Hauteclere* and *Joiose*, which of necessity the name of Roland's sword should eclipse in exotic effect. Therefore I have continued to seek another explanation of the name, which I herewith present:

² *Ibid.*, 57-58.

³ *Lang.* xv (1939), 48-50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi (1940), 213-214.

⁵ In a short note in *Le français moderne*, vii, 375, reproduced by S., *loc. cit.*, 213.

⁶ *Lang.* xv, 49.

⁷ Italics, except in conventional cases, are mine.

⁸ Cf. Dauzat, *Les Noms de famille de France* (Paris, Payot, 1945), p. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

As every one knows, the famous passage in Eginhard speaks of Roland as being "Brittanici limitis praefectus" or 'prefect of the Breton frontier.' Though the word 'Breton' may have connoted at this time much that was geographically and linguistically non-Breton (perhaps Norman), there is, on the other hand, no good reason why the late eleventh-century author of *O*, on reading Eginhard as a preliminary to his task, should not have assumed that Roland was of Brittany and accordingly bestowed on the latter's sword a Breton name. Let us now advert to the explanation of the *Pseudo-Turpin*: "*Durrenda* interpretantur durum ictum cum ea dans, quae frangi nullo modo poterat, prius defeciet brachium, quam spata."¹⁰ Mention is also made here of the sword's incomparable sharpness, inflexible strength, and very great brightness. Therefore, I suggest that *Durendal* derives from Breton *diren dall*, 'blade (*diren*) dulls cutting edge' (i. e., of another weapon), or 'blade blinds' (because of its great brilliance). *Diren* is defined by Le Gonidec as 'un morceau, une lame d'acier, le tranchant d'un outil'; *dalla*, inf., of which *dall* is 3d sg. pr. ind., as 'aveugler, émousser, ôter la pointe ou le tranchant à un instrument.'¹¹

I suggest further that this name, on the lips of an eleventh-century Basque or Gascon of the Pyrenean region,¹² could most easily have suffered the change of its *i* to *u*;¹³ and in Provençal territory in general, of its *-al* suffix to *-art*¹⁴ in the case of the variant forms. Of course, *dur*, connoting a quality essential to a good sword, might in any event have been expected to impinge on *dir-* and to supplant it rather quickly in this case. And despite my

¹⁰ Ed. of Ciampi, cap. xxiii; quoted by Rohlf.

¹¹ *Dictionnaire breton-français* (2 vols., St. Brieuc, 1850).

¹² For the relevance of this reference to Basque, cf. E. B. Place, "Problems in the Oxford *Roland*," *PMLA* LXII (1947), 875.

¹³ Cf. R. M. Azkue, *Dictionnaire basque-espagnol-français* (2 vols., Bilbao, Paris, 1905-1906), II, 346, where he states: "La *ú* se cambia en *i* y vice-versa aun fuera de casos de aglutinación. Este fenómeno no obedece a pauta alguna." . . . Among the examples given are: *izu* (Biscayen, Guipuzcoan)—*izi* (Upper Navarrese, Lower Navarrese, Labourdin, Roncalais, Souletin), 'fright'; *ikutu* (B., G.)—*ukitu* (UN., LN., L.), 'to touch,' etc. (*tocar*); *ume* (R.)—*ime* (B.), 'child'; *utsu* (R.)—*itsu* (UN., LN., R.), 'blind.'

¹⁴ Cf. E. L. Adams, *Word-Formation in Provençal* (New York, McMillan, 1913), pp. 67, 138-139, 287, for an account of these suffixes. To save space I omit mention of various special treatises for particular areas.

strictures presented above, there would also presumably have been present the *analogical* influence of that very old personal name, Lat. *Durandus*, Fr. *Durand(-t)*, Pr. *Duran*,¹⁵ to account for the frequent presence of *a* in the second syllable (*Durandal*, etc.).

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L'EMPLOI DU MOT *DES*PORT
DANS *AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE*

Le second vers de la première laisse d'*Aucassin et Nicolette* était une pierre d'achoppement pour tous les commentateurs malgré les nombreuses tentatives faites pour l'éclaircir depuis deux siècles. La leçon du vers n'est plus contestable mais aucune interprétation n'a obtenu l'adhésion de tous les critiques. On peut lire un court exposé de ces hypothèses aux pages 41 et 42 de l'édition que Mario Roques a donnée dans les *Classiques français du moyen âge* en 1925 et encore en 1929. Il faut y suppléer par son commentaire détaillé, qui a paru dans *Romania*, LVIII (1932), pp. 447-450. On a refusé à plusieurs reprises d'accepter des conjectures telle que celle de J. K. Williams, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 62-63, qui se fonde sur une fausse leçon, mais on doit prendre au sérieux les observations de F. Neri, *Atti della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, LXVI (1931), pp. 195-198. Neri sent une certaine gêne dans l'emploi du couple *viel antif* avec valeur de substantif. Il propose de le rapporter à *deport* avec valeur d'adjectif: "Che il diporto a cui il poeta d'*Aucassin* invita i suoi uditori sia di quel vecchio antico, di quello d'un tempo lontano, non soltanto si spiega con le allusioni consimili d'altre canzoni e racconti, ma s'accorda con quel carattere ingenuo, proprio delle vecchie favole, a cui le prose ed i versi alternati d'*Aucassin* danno un risalto." En effet, une telle interprétation s'accorderait fort bien avec l'allure dramatique de la chantefable. Cependant on peut voir un surnom à deux éléments dans *viel antif*, un seul élément ayant une valeur substantive et l'autre servant à le qualifier.

¹⁵ Dauzat, *op. cit.* in Note 6, gives *passim* a rather full treatment to the history of this personal name.

Cette formule était censée désigner le jongleur ou l'auteur lui-même ou son modèle ancien. Tant s'en faut! Il n'y a aucune énigme autobiographique. Le *viel antif*, c'est un des protagonistes, le vieux père d'Aucassin dont les deux adolescents doivent contrecarrer la volonté. Leo Spitzer vient de nous le dire dans *Mod. Phil.*, XLV (1947), pp. 8-14. Il considère le *viel antif* comme une locution renforcée par tautologie. Il ajoute que ce trait est un procédé de rhétorique dont le poète a fait largement usage et qui était courant dans la poésie française du moyen âge. A mon avis cette explication emporte la conviction. Elle m'impressionne d'autant plus que M. Spitzer y est parvenu indépendamment de Vincenzo Crescini. Cette étude précieuse, "Per l'esordio della cantafavola su Aucassin e Nicoletta," dont je dois la connaissance à Neri, a paru dans *Studi dedicati a Francesco Torraca* (Naples, 1912), pp. 381-387.

Cela posé, il reste à déterminer le sens de *deport* dans ce vers. Jusqu'ici la plupart des critiques ont attribué l'idée de "plaisir, amusement" à *deport*, ce qui rendait nécessaire l'identification du *viel antif* avec un personnage situé en dehors de la chantefable. Si on consulte les grands dictionnaires du vieux français, on aura l'embarras du choix dans les nuances du mot. A la page 147 de son édition du *Roman du Hem*, Albert Henry a démontré que dans ce poème Sarrasin a employé *deport* dans quatre vers avec les sens de "plaisir amoureux; joie; retard; ménagement," et qu'il a employé *deporter* dans quatre autres vers avec les sens de "se divertir; passer sous silence; renoncer à; se comporter." Ce dernier emploi est à retenir ici à côté de cinq exemples semblables: dans Tobler-Lommatzsch, dont les deux passages sont reproduits textuellement par Spitzer; dans Godefroy, Compl. IX p. 306c; dans La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, V p. 73b; dans *Le Vair Palefroi* 828.

Grâce au renvoi de Neri, on apprend que Crescini avait réussi à identifier le vieillard décrépit comme le comte Garin de Beaucaire et aussi qu'il avait précisé le sens du mot *deport* par "diportamento, condotta." De son côté Spitzer a conclu que *deport* est employé dans la chantefable au sens de "manière de se comporter, conduite, attitude," mais qu'aucun lexicographe n'a relevé cet emploi ailleurs en vieux français. Il cite un texte anglais de 1474 et il justifie l'hypothèse du *NED*. Il ajoute que *deportes* se trouve dans le voisinage de *countenaunce* et que Caxton voulait y décrire la "manière" d'une dame. Néanmoins dans ce contexte il faut pren-

dre l'idée, non pas au sens moral comme dans *Aucassin et Nicolette*, mais au sens physique. Spitzer a attiré l'attention aussi sur un passage que Godefroy a tiré de la *Somme le Roi*, qui accouple *deport* et *contenance*. Godefroy a beau l'enregistrer sous la rubrique "joie, plaisir," on voit que dès 1279 Laurent d'Orléans a dû employer *deport* au sens moral de "conduite." Plus tard le mot a été employé dans ce sens par Charles d'Orléans dans ses poésies d'après l'édition de Champion, II p. 650. J'ignore la source de la définition "attitude, état" que Bos a attribuée à *deport* dans son *Glossaire de la langue d'oïl*. Peut-être le *Roman de la Rose* 13322.

On peut rapprocher cet emploi de *deport* au sens moral de l'apax *deporte* découvert par Godefroy dans une lettre de Charles IX aux consuls d'Agen en l'an 1570 et de *deportement* cité par Tobler-Lommatzsch dans *Les quatre âges de l'homme*. Dans cette œuvre Philippe de Novare a accouplé le mot à *contenance* quatorze années avant Laurent d'Orléans. Les exemples de *déportements* au sens moral pullulent, surtout au 16^e et au 17^e siècle: Godefroy, Compl. IX p. 306c, en cite quatre; Livet, *Lexique de la langue de Molière*, II p. 52, qui estime que le mot a paru pour la première fois en 1596 chez Odet de la Nouë, le signale chez huit écrivains.

Donc rien ne nous empêche plus d'affirmer que l'interprétation littéraire, qui explique le début de la chantefable comme une allusion à la conduite du vieux comte, satisfait toutes les exigences des paléographes et des psychologues qui s'intéressent à la France médiévale.

RAPHAEL LEVY

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RISING TO CHRIST ON THE CROSS (PARADISO, XI, 70-72)

In this passage praising Lady Poverty, the bride of St Francis,

Nè valse esser costante, nè feroce,
 Sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,
 Ella con Cristo salse in su la croce

several 14th century manuscripts have the reading, for the last verse,

Ella con Cristo pianse in su la croce.

Many modern editors, under the influence of the esthetic criticism of men such as Cesari or Tommaseo, have preferred and still prefer this version, in spite of the fact that Giovanni Mestica,¹ Alessandro d'Ancona² and A. Bertoldi³ have emphatically opposed it, arguing that *pianse* weakens the dominant idea, i. e. the contrast between Mary standing below and Poverty ascending with Christ up the Cross. Mestica and d'Ancona discovered also that this contrast has been a favourite motif in early Franciscan literature; they quoted a prayer attributed to St Francis, the *Oratio beati Patris ad obtinendam Paupertatem*, reproduced by Ubertino da Casale in his *Arbor vitae crucifixe*,⁴ where the same contrast between the Virgin and Lady Poverty is described, with emphasis upon the *altitudo crucis* which prevents the Virgin, but not Poverty, from following Christ in his last trial. Bertoldi found the same prayer in Giovanni da Parma's *Sacrum Commmercium beati Francisci cum domina Paupertate*, published after Mestica's and d'Ancona's articles.⁵

But there is still other evidence for the probability of the reading *salse*. To die with Christ on the Cross, *cum Christo crucifigi*,⁶ means the unio passionalis, the ultimate aim of mystical contemplation, the mystical wedding, the fulfillment of the imitatio Christi. Now, as far as I know, the concept of weeping has scarcely been used in this connection;⁷ it belongs normally to another context, the Pietà, the lamentation over the dead body; whereas *salire*, to climb, is one of the most important and widespread images for the description of the degrees of mystical contemplation. In Franciscan literature, it has been used very often in this context.⁸ There is a

¹ *San Francesco, Dante e Giotto*, in *Nuova Antologia*, Seconda Serie, vol. xxvii, 1881, p. 403.

² *Maria e la povertà*, first published in 1881, reprinted in his *Scritti Danteschi*, Firenze 1912, p. 310.

³ *Il Canto di San Francesco*, lecture given in 1903 (*Lectura Dantis*), reprinted in his book *Nostra Maggior Musa*, Firenze 1921, p. 163 with notes 63 and 64.

⁴ Lib. v cap. III.

⁵ In Edoardo d'Alvisi's *Nota al Canto XI del Paradiso*, Città di Castello 1894; the prayer on p. 51.

⁶ Some other images, taken from the works of St Bernard: *persistere in cruce, non pati de cruce deponi, inhaerere cruci*.

⁷ Except perhaps in some commentaries of Cant. 5, 6: *Anima mea liquefacta est*.

⁸ Jacopone da Todi, *Le Laude*, second edition (Ferri and Caramella),

passage in Jacopone da Todi, where *salire* appears exactly in the same sense as in Dante's verse, describing the unio passionalis: the soul, climbing up on the Cross, dying in Christ's embrace, in an ecstasy of love. In the last lines of the Lauda *Come l'anima priega li angeli che l'insegnino a trovar Jesu Cristo*,⁹ when the soul has finally found Christ, the following conversation develops:

- Alma, poi ch'èi venuta — respondote volontire:
La croce è lo mio letto — la 've te poi meco unire;
sacci, sì vogli salire — haveráme po' albergato. —
- Cristo amoroso, e io voglio — en croce nudo salire,
e voglioe abbracciato — Signor, teco morire;
gaio seram' a patire — morir teco abbracciato. —

I think that this passage is a very strong support for the reading *salse*.

ERICH AUERBACH

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SWINBURNE ON KEATS: A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY

I

One of the lesser items in the Keats Collection of the Harvard College Library is the introductory portion of an essay on Keats that Swinburne began but did not finish. The manuscript, which

Bari 1930 (*Scrittori d'Italia*). In the Lauda XLV (*Come Dio appare ne l'anima en cinque modi*, p. 104) Jacopone says:

En cinque modi appareme — lo Signor en esta vita
altissima salita — chi nel quinto è entrato.

And the fifth is the spiritual wedding with Christ. For the contemplative salita, see also the *Oratione a Cristo*, in *Le poesie spirituali del B. Jacopone da Todi*, published by Fra Francesco Tressatti da Lignano, Venetia 1617, p. 676. I quote the third and the fourth stanza:

Fuoco d'amor cocente	A te sposo diletto
Accendimi nel core,	Salisco contemplando,
Si che veracemente	Te Jesu mi diletto
Arso io moia d'amore;	Con affetto laudando,
Accioche ogni fetore	Sol te desiderando
Da me sia dipartito,	Con affetto infocato
Sopra di me salito	Per amor trasformato
A te mio dolce sposo.	In te Cristo amoroso.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Lauda XLII, p. 89.

is entered in Sotheby's catalogue for March 13, 1917, when Watts-Dunton's library was sold, appears to have been unnoticed by Swinburne's editors and biographers. It came to Harvard in 1925 as part of the Amy Lowell Collection and is now printed by permission of the Harvard College Library. It is especially unfortunate that the fragment was not available to M. Georges Lafourcade, for it would fit naturally into his volume *Swinburne's Hyperion and Other Poems with an Essay on Keats and Swinburne* (London, 1927), on which is based the brief discussion that follows.

There is little to be gained from speculating on what Swinburne would have said if he had finished this essay; as Lafourcade remarked in his preface, "We may or may not regret the occurrence, but Swinburne certainly did not write a thesis on Keats; and certainly we are not expected to write it for him." We may, however, present what indications there are as to the date of composition.

In 1866 while engaged in editing for Moxon and Company a volume of selections from Byron, with a preface, in the "Moxon's Miniature Poets" series, Swinburne appears to have been invited by Moxon to edit Keats also. He wrote in January to William Michael Rossetti to ask what amount he should charge Moxon for his work on Byron:

An illustrious Scotch person of the name of Buchanan has done, it seems, a like office for Keats, and received £10 in return. This sum the publisher is willing to lose, and to cancel the poor devil's work, if I will do Keats instead on those terms; and won't I? and wouldn't I gratis? This forthcoming Scotch edition of Keats, who hated the Scotch as much as I do (Scotus [William Bell Scott] I consider Northumbrian by adoption and Scotch no longer) has long been a thorn in my side; and apart from the delight of trampling on a Scotch poetaster, I shall greatly enjoy bringing out a perfect edition of Keats with all his good verses and none of his bad. But all this does not help me to see what under the circumstances I ought in justice to demand for the Byron, a work less delightful and more laborious.¹

Lafourcade adds that in a letter to Lady Trevelyan in March, 1866, Swinburne says he is preparing a preface on Keats similar to the one he had just finished on Byron.² For some reason now not known Swinburne did not edit the selections from Keats. Four

¹ Lafourcade, pp. 29 f.

² See *The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, ed. Sir Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise (20 vols., London and New York, 1926-1927 [Bonchurche Edition]), xviii, 39 f.

years later, however, William Rossetti undertook an edition for Moxon called *The Poetical Works of John Keats* which was published in 1872, and for this work Swinburne contributed valuable suggestions. In a letter to William Rossetti dated May 23, 1870, he described what he considered the ideal selection and arrangement of Keats' poems. It will be noted that he regarded selection and re-arrangement as the most urgent tasks for an editor of Keats:

This was exactly the plan I had laid out for myself when requested from the same quarter as you to edit a selection from Keats. . . . It will be a priceless boon to all lovers of Keats, as the idiotic editions of Moxon—the only ones current—have actually and inextricably jumbled together his last and best work with his first and worst, so that till I had a copy of ed. 1820 I could never read the Ode to a Nightingale without finding some schoolboy nonsense thrust in my way a few pages off.³

Somewhat later it again looked as though Swinburne would get the chance to edit Keats which he so much desired. He was asked by Edmund Gosse to contribute selections from Keats, with a critical introduction, to a four-volume work called *The English Poets*. "Keats I will gladly undertake; the other three I must decline, having said my say fully on Coleridge and Blake . . . , and neither knowing enough . . . of Chatterton, nor . . . taking enough interest in him . . . ," he wrote to Gosse in October, 1879.⁴ This project also failed to materialize, and Swinburne's only essay on Keats remains the one he wrote for *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1881.

This part of Lafourcade's discussion of Swinburne on Keats has been reviewed because the evidence from the letters gives clues to the date of composition of the fragment here printed. I should like to suggest, on the basis of these letters and the watermark of the manuscript (1866), circa March, 1866, as the probable date and late 1879 as an alternative. The evidence is, of course, extremely tenuous, but it seems likely that this fragment is the beginning of a critical introduction to a selection from Keats' poems.

II

The manuscript is written in Swinburne's hand in black ink on one side of a half-sheet of blue laid paper measuring 8 x 10¼ inches. The watermark is: ETOWGOOD/ 1866.

³ Lafourcade, pp. 38 f.

⁴ Swinburne's *Works*, XVIII, 310.

John Keats.

Among the chief names of English literature there are some whose office & influence are at once definable; there are some also whose post⁵ is as difficult to define as to deny. None of the great poets of his⁶ time have stamped their likeness so deep upon the style & manner of their successors as John Keats. It is easier to imagine a world⁷ without all the rest than a world without him.⁸ He has become mixed into the memories of all; we could not dispense with him on any terms. And yet by the side of others the man & his work appear, as indeed they were, limited, partial, contracted.⁹ They have not the depth & intensity of Coleridge & Wordsworth, the passion & the range of Byron & Shelley. They are unambitious to excel in any alien field. They have no message to deliver.

Worse used by editors & friends¹⁰ than any but Landor as to posthumous¹¹ arrangement of poems

By Algernon Charles Swinburne¹²

CECIL YELVERTON LANG

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THE "SIMILE OF THE SPARROW" IN *THE RAINBOW*
BY D. H. LAWRENCE

An important aspect of the prose style of D. H. Lawrence is his use of animal imagery and symbol, in brief metaphors¹ or in the more extensive and complex images which characterize whole epi-

⁵ Alt. part. A word that looks like poster was written first and the er lined through.

⁶ who, lined through, precedes his.

⁷ generation lined through; world without written above.

⁸ Keats lined through; him written above, with caret below the line.

⁹ subject to lined through; contracted written above.

¹⁰ & friends written above, with caret below the line.

¹¹ posthumous appears to have been added later; the humous slants gradually below the line, and us is beneath the first two letters of arrangement.

¹² By Algernon Charles Swinburne added in pencil by another hand.

¹ In *The Rainbow*, for example, little Anna Lensky is "like a curled-up animal asleep but for the eyes" (Modern Library edition, New York, 1915), p. 36. Angry at Tom, Anna is "sure to dart forward her little head, like a serpent." *Ibid.*, p. 62. Will Brangwen's eyes are "like a bird's, like a hawk's." *Ibid.*, p. 99. His nature is "a separate thing, like a cat's nature." *Ibid.*, p. 105.

sodes and conflicts.² The striking symbol of the horses in the wood, in the last chapter of *The Rainbow*, is introduced by one of the oldest bird symbols in English literature, the "Simile of the Sparrow" from Bede's account of "The Conversion of Edwin."³

The central theme of the last chapter is rebirth. Ursula had been struggling to put behind her the old, spiritually barren form of life. Then aware that she was with child by Anton, so irrevocably a part of this old life, Ursula determined to set aside her striving for the fulfilment she had imagined and to accept, with all its implications,

² The interplay of bird imagery throughout the fourth chapter of *The Rainbow* culminates in the fight of the blue-caps in the snow (pp. 182-83), symbolizing the conflict—and its outcome—between Anna and Will. This earlier symbolic use of birds has its echo in the later use of the simile of the sparrow.

³ From the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History." The lines here are from *Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader* (New York, 1947), p. 64, ll. 3-11:

... swyle swā þū æt swāsendum sitte midþinum caldormannum ond
 þegnum on wintertide, ond sie fȳr onæled ond þin heall gewyrmed,
 ond hit rīne, ond snīwe, ond styrme ūte; cume ān spearwa ond hræd-
 lice þæt hūs þurhlēo, cume þurh ðpre duru in, þurh ðpre ūt gewite.
 Hwæt, hē on þā tid þe hē inne bið, ne bið hrinen mid þȳ storme þæs
 wintres; ac þæt bið ān ēagan bryhtm ond þæt lēsste fæc, ac hē sōna
 of wintra on þone winter eft cymeð.

The figure is so widely known that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to pin down Lawrence's source. Wordsworth uses it in number XVI of the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets"—the octave of which makes an interesting parallel reading with the Lawrentian passage:

'Man's life is like a Sparrow, mighty King!
 That—while at banquet with your Chiefs you sit
 Housed near a blazing fire—is seen to flit
 Safe from the wintry tempest. Fluttering,
 Here did it enter; there, on hasty wing,
 Flies out, and passes on from cold to cold;
 But whence it came we know not, nor behold
 Whither it goes. Even such, that transient Thing,
 The human Soul; not utterly unknown
 While in the body lodged, her warm abode;
 But from what world She came, what woe or weal
 On her departure waits, no tongue hath shown;
 This mystery if the Stranger can reveal,
 His be a welcome cordially bestowed!'

(This reading is from A. F. Potts, *The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of William Wordsworth* (New Haven, 1922), p. 127. Miss Potts asserts that Wordsworth's source is "Fuller, not Bede." p. 39, p. 224.)

the traditional role of child-bearer. Ursula's decision to marry Anton brought a "bondaged sort of peace"⁴ — the peace of renunciation. It was an insecure peace, threatened by the inactivity of waiting in the confining, suffocating atmosphere of her parents' house. Ursula escaped by walking out into the October rain. For a moment she was satisfied. "It was very splendid, free and chaotic. Yet she hurried to the wood for shelter."⁵ The trees gave her a feeling of protection, yet she was afraid of "their martialled silence."

So she flitted along, keeping an illusion that she was unnoticed. She felt like a bird that has flown in through the window of a hall where vast warriors sit at the board. Between their grave, booming ranks she was hastening, assuming she was unnoticed, till she emerged, with beating heart, through the far window and out into the open, upon the vivid green, marshy meadow.⁶

She was alone, far from home and any sort of security, aware only of the need to find her way back to a life of stability, of significant form. Suddenly she was aware of the horses "looming in the rain"⁷ and her road back was threatened by the anarchy of elemental passion which they symbolize — the dark massed horses "running against the walls of time, and never bursting free."⁸ The loss of her child meant to Ursula the loss of the last bond tying her to the form of the past. Her recovery was a virtual rebirth. "As she grew better she sat to watch a new creation. . . . In the still, silenced forms of the colliers she saw a sort of suspense, a waiting in pain for the new liberation."⁹ The storm, which had paralleled her conflict and illness, broke, and the rainbow — the symbol of rebirth for all the people about her — appeared.

D. H. Lawrence uses the simile of the sparrow briefly. It takes up a short paragraph in a chapter some ten pages long, one of a number of symbols and by no means the dominant one. The chapter is called "The Rainbow," and this is the final symbol. The horses remain the most vivid image for most readers. However, the simile of the sparrow is essential to a grasp of the broad theme of the chapter. It serves the specific purpose of locating Ursula's conflict in the long tradition of searching for spiritual significance in life.

Lawrence uses only that part of the passage which presents the

⁴ *The Rainbow*, p. 457.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

visual image—the lighted room with its rows of warriors, the bird finding temporary refuge from the storm. In the original passage (and in Wordsworth's sonnet) the simile is developed and its meaning made general: Man's life on earth is like the flight of the sparrow; man's concern is with the fate of his soul in the time unknown to him. A clear parallel is drawn between Ursula's flight from insecurity back into insecurity and the sparrow's flight through the lighted room. But Lawrence never gets away, in his explicit statement, from the specific situation centering around Ursula. Once he has made use of the concrete symbol he drops the figure. Yet, for the literate reader, the generalization which is so much a part of the original passage has been implied.

Moreover, Lawrence makes no attempt to avoid ambiguity. The forest does not become a room entirely; the trees never cease being trees. This very ambiguity allows the image to retain the implicit meaning without drawing the attention of the reader away from the particular conflict of Ursula at this specific time. Through the use of a symbol which is a part of the story of the struggle of primitive Englishmen for spiritual meaning, Lawrence lifts Ursula's conflict out of the immediate and the personal.

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A NOTE ON POE IN 1838

Recent biographers of Poe assert indefinitely that Poe left New York "in the summer of 1838"¹ or "sometime in the summer of 1838"² to go to Philadelphia. The exact date is vague; in fact, comparatively little is known of Poe's activities during the summer of 1838. Some biographers assert that James Pedder, a friend, urged Poe to leave New York for Philadelphia, as well he may have.

A poem published in *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post* in the issue of August 11, 1838 (Vol. xvii, No. 889), adds a bit to the scant knowledge of this period. The work is "Ode XXX—To Edgar A. Poe," one of the second series of odes by "Horace In

¹ Hervey Allen, *Israfel The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1934), p. 341.

² Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe A Critical Biography* (New York, 1941), p. 268.

Philadelphia," which was being published in the *Post* and *The Casket*,³ both of which were published in Philadelphia. "Horace in Philadelphia" is Lambert A. Wilmer,⁴ who by 1838 had already been Poe's friend for several years.

It seems quite likely that the publication of this poem in the *Philadelphia Post*, in August 1838, had some connection with Poe's removal to that city, though the exact nature of this connection is conjectural. Wilmer, who was apparently living in Baltimore at the time,⁵ may have written to him in New York advising him to go to Philadelphia (where Wilmer himself had formerly lived and where he went again later).⁶ Again, Poe may have gone to Baltimore from New York of his own accord, earlier in the summer, and talked the problem over personally with his friend. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Wilmer played no part in the matter until he heard, directly or indirectly, that Poe had moved to Philadelphia; then he took the first occasion—in an early issue of the *Post*—to welcome him with a poetic tribute and help him on the way to fame.

In the words "tho' fortune now Averts her face, . . ." the ode suggests that Poe was experiencing discouragement at the time. Wilmer is authority for the assertion that Poe once studied lithography under Mr. Duval of Philadelphia, despairing of earning a living by his literary labors.⁷ Perhaps it was during the period following Poe's return to Philadelphia, when fortune frowned, that he tried to learn the new craft. We know comparatively little of Poe's activities during this period except that he must have been working on *The Conchologist's First Book*, published the following year, which was certainly hack work for the artist Poe.

³ For example, see "Ode XXV,—To Miss Molly B—," *The Casket*, XIII (August 1838), 358.

⁴ Poe's review of "The Confessions of Emilia Harrington. By Lambert A. Wilmer. Baltimore," *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison, VIII, 237. Dr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott first kindly informed me of the identification of "Horace In Philadelphia."

⁵ A page of advertisements immediately preceding the inside back cover of Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine*, III (December 1838), lists Lambert A. Wilmer of Baltimore as a contributor.

⁶ *Merlin, Baltimore, 1827 Together with Recollections of Edgar A. Poe*. By Lambert A. Wilmer, edited with an introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott, *Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints* (New York, 1941), p. x. See also Poe, *op. cit.*, VIII, 237.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Wilmer's ode to Poe has some merit, too, as an early favorable criticism of his friend. It shows a genuine recognition of Poe's genius, a recognition which Wilmer never lost even though he and Poe quarreled later. After forty-odd lines lamenting the fact that mediocre talents succeed while true genius is neglected, he takes comfort from the hope that time will right this wrong:

So thou dear friend, shalt haply ride
Triumphant through the swelling tide
With fame thy cynosure and guide.

So may it be.—tho' fortune now
Averts her face, and heedless crowds
To blocks, like senseless Pagans, bow;—
Yet time shall dissipate the clouds,
Dissolve the mist which merit shrouds,
And fix the laurel on *thy* brow.

And he concludes with a reference to Poe's talents as a literary critic:

Thou once did whip some rascals from the fane
O let thy vengeful arm be felt again.

CARROLL D. LAVERTY

Bryan, Texas

A FURTHER NOTE ON SWINBURNE AND WHITMAN

There is nothing to be gained from reviving the Swinburne-Whitman controversy until, so to speak, the complete returns are in; for several points of the issue are still unsettled. But though many (including myself) have mentioned the affair in print, no one apparently has noticed, or seen fit to call attention to, the various books by Whitman in the library of the "damndest simulacrum," some of which contain interesting and illuminating inscriptions. Because the information merits attention and because, so far as I know, this list has hitherto been printed only in an obscure and fairly inaccessible publication, I transcribe it here from the *Catalogue of the Library of Algernon Charles Swinburne, Esq. Deceased (Sold by Order of the Executors of the Late W. T. Watts-Dunton, Esq.)*, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, June 19-21, 1916, p. 75:

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- 847 Whitman (Walt) *Drum Taps*, FIRST EDITION, *original cloth*
New York, 1865
- 848 Whitman (W.) *Leaves of Grass*, 1867; *Drum Taps*, 1865; in 1 vol.
half bound, m. e. presentation copy to Swinburne with autograph
inscription: "Algernon Charles Swinburne from Walt Whitman"
New York, 1865-7
- 849 Whitman (W.) *Poems*, selected and edited by Wm. Michael Rossetti,
FIRST EDITION, *portrait, original cloth* 1868
- 850 Whitman (W.) *After All*, not to create only, recited by Walt Whit-
man on Invitation of Managers American Institute on opening
their 40th Annual Exhibition, New York, noon, September 7, 1871,
presentation copy with autograph inscription on half-title: "To
Alg. Chs. Swinburne from the author" Boston, 1871
- 851 Whitman (W.) *Democratic Vistas*, FIRST EDITION, *original wrap-*
pers, uncut, presentation copy with autograph inscription: "Alg.
Chs. Swinburne, from Walt Whitman, Nov. 1871"
Washington, D. C. 1871
- 852 Whitman (W.) *Leaves of Grass*, *portrait inserted, uncut, presenta-*
tion copy from the author, with autograph inscription: "To Alg.
Chs. Swinburne from Walt Whitman, Washington, U. S. November,
1871" ib. 1871
- 853 Whitman (W.) *Leaves of Grass*, *presentation copy from the author*
with autograph inscription: "Algernon Charles Swinburne from
the author with thanks and love," and portrait and photograph of
the author inserted, one with his autograph signature
Boston, 1881-2
- 854 Whitman (W.) *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free*, and other Poems,
original cloth, with the advertisements Washington, 1872
- 855 Whitman. *Gems from Walt Whitman*, selected by Elizabeth Porter
Gould, *presentation copy with inscription: "For Mr. Algernon C.*
Swinburne with the compliments of Elizabeth Porter Gould, Boston,
Massachusetts, U. S. A." oblong. Philadelphia, 1889
- 856 Whitman (W.) *Gems from: selected by Elizabeth Porter Gould,*
presentation copy to Swinburne, with autograph inscription of E.
P. Gould, and MS. poem sent to the dinner given in honour of Walt
Whitman's seventieth birthday oblong. Philadelphia, 1889

CECIL Y. LANG

Harvard University

A MISDATED SWINBURNE LETTER

The letter to John H. Ingram which is dated "April 21st, 1874" in the Gosse-Wise edition of *The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (New York, John Lane, 1919) should, in all probability, be dated two years later. At any rate, it cannot have been written so

early as 1874, as the following check on three references in the letter will indicate:

1) "M. Mallarmé wrote me some time ago in acknowledgement of the reference to himself in my letter to Miss Rice. . . ." Mallarmé's letter is dated "27 janvier 1876." (See *Oeuvres complètes de Mallarmé*, edited by Henri Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry, Paris, La Pléiade, 1945, page 1515.) Swinburne's letter to Miss Rice is dated "November 9th [1875]" in the Gosse-Wise edition, page 220.

2) "Have you seen the admirable version of some of Poe's *Marginalia* appearing in the *République des Lettres*?" This French review did not begin to publish until December 20, 1875. The editorial footnote is also erroneous: this version of the *Marginalia* was not by Mallarmé, but by Augusta Holmès.

3) The reference to the Byron monument committee clearly indicates that the letter was written in 1876, when that committee was named. The editors might have recognized the fact by comparing the text of this letter with that of the letter to Lord Houghton, which they printed on pages 250-252.

W. T. BANDY

The University of Wisconsin

AN ARMENIAN PERFORMANCE OF SHELLEY'S *THE CENCI*

In Kenneth N. Cameron and Horst Frenz's account of "The Stage History of Shelley's *The Cenci*"¹ and in Arthur C. Hicks's introduction to his (and R. Milton Clarke's) stage version of the play,² two American productions of the drama are mentioned: the first by the Lennox Hill Players of New York City in June 1926, and the last by the Bellingham (Washington) Theatre Guild in March 1940.

Between these two presentations was another and unique one. The minutes of the Armenian Cultural Society of Los Angeles,

¹ Kenneth N. Cameron and Horst Frenz, "The Stage History of Shelley's *The Cenci*," *PMLA*, LX (December 1945), 1080-1105.

² Arthur C. Hicks and R. Milton Clarke, *A Stage Version of Shelley's Cenci* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945), pp. 26-28.

California, for December 10, 1933, state: "Shelley's 'Cenci' was performed on Dec. 10, 1933 at the El Serreno Playground to an audience of members and friends in excess of 300. . . . The Armenian translation of the play was furnished in toto by Mr. Manuel Tolegian, Sr. . . . The actors and actresses were all drawn from the membership and were all amateurs who had a fine command of the Armenian language [and were] chosen especially by Mr. Tolegian for their enunciation and delivery. . . ."

Mr. Aram Tolegian, to whom I am indebted for permission to quote from the Society's minutes above, says that he recalls remarks that *The Cenci* seemed more in character in Armenian than in English, "because the deep note of somberness throughout the drama lends itself to easy emulation among a people so persecuted that the father of every Armenian home has been an exarch of a kind, sometimes cruel and always decisive in the face of crisis."

This Armenian performance deserves at least a footnote in the history of *The Cenci* and is cited to bring the record up to date and to give further evidence that the drama has been a vehicle for acting as well as for reading.

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne University

A NOTE ON *COMUS*

When the wicked son of Bacchus and Circe tempts the Lady of the masque, one of the arguments that Milton puts in his mouth is the familiar Neo-Epicurean doctrine that if man did not use the supply of nature extravagantly, he would soon be overwhelmed with a surplusage of good—the earth would be "cumbered," the air would be "dark't with plumes," "the herds would over-multitude their Lord," and the sea would be "o'erfraught." Thus far the discussion is quite intelligible to the modern reader, but it is followed by an illustration that does not seem to fit.

th' unsought diamonds
Would so emblaze the forehead of the Deep,
And so bestudd with Stars, that they below
Would grow inur'd to light, and com at last
To gaze upon the Sun with shameless brows. (731-5)

The answer to this difficulty is the theory abroad in Milton's

age concerning the growth and generation of diamonds. Anselm Boetius, one of the best authorities, writes that small diamonds are usually found in the head of the pits, but after they have been all taken out and the pit closed for two years, other diamonds will be found to have grown in their place.¹ This is, more or less, the general scientific position of seventeenth century mineralogists. But one also had to be careful about the diamonds in his casket, for Franciscus Rueus tells of a Luxemburger who had two family diamonds, "which frequently, as if by a miracle of nature, produced others."² Something of this sort clearly lies behind Comus' statement.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

A NOTE ON WILLIAM LAW'S *THE ABSOLUTE
UNLAWFULNESS OF THE STAGE
ENTERTAINMENT*

It has been generally assumed by writers on William Law, notably J. H. Overton in his *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*, that his pamphlet on *The Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage* was composed and published before his *Christian Perfection*, Chapter XI of which contains at least two-thirds of the identical material to be found in the pamphlet. There are some significant discrepancies, however, between these two versions of Law's views on the stage entertainment which make their order of publication and composition important. For example, the chapter in the *Christian Perfection* states that attending masquerades and attending plays are equally evil for pious Christians. The pamphlet on *The Unlawfulness of the Stage*, however, says that masquerade goers are less to be censured than playgoers, thus indicating that Law's horror of the stage has increased if the pamphlet may be assumed to have been published later than the *Christian Perfection*. It is thus of interest to learn that *Mist's Journal* for 11 December 1725 advertizes the *Christian Perfection* as "this day published," in spite of the fact that all editions bear the date 1726. The pamphlet on *The Unlawfulness of the Stage* is first advertized in *Mist's Journal* on 30 April 1726. This dating is further confirmed by the fact that the

¹ *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* (Lugduni, 1636), p. 121.

² *De gemmis aliquot* (Tiguri, 1566), p. 4.

chapter in the *Christian Perfection* contains no reference to a pantomime which Law denounces in the strongest terms and at some length in the pamphlet on *The Unlawfulness of the Stage*. The pantomime is identified in John Murray's *Gibbon's Autobiographies* (page 24) as *Apollo and Daphne*, first performed in 1726 at the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Law's quotations and descriptions of this entertainment suggest that he either heard a detailed account of it from some member of the Gibbon household where, at this time, he held the position of family chaplain and tutor to Edward Gibbon, the father of the author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; or it may be possible that he was himself present at the entertainment since the music for it was composed by Lewis Theobald and Law's interest in music is well known.

ARTHUR WORMHOUDT

New York, N. Y.

LES LAMENTATIONS DE JÉRÉMIE ET LA POÉSIE FRANÇAISE DU XVI^e SIÈCLE

Dans son intéressante *Anthologie de la poésie religieuse française* (Paris, 1943), pp. 57-58, Dominique Aury a publié des 'Lamentations de Jérémie' de Guillaume Guérout. La table de concordance renvoie le lecteur aux *Lamentations*, 1-12: *O vos omnes qui transitis*. Mais il est curieux de rapprocher, de ces textes, un rondeau qui a connu un succès marqué au début du XVI^e siècle, à en juger par le nombre des mss. qui le conservent. Voici une strophe du poème de Guérout:

. . . O vous qui par cy passez,
Las pensez
A mon tourment misérable:
Voyez s'il y a douleur,
Ou malheur,
A ma tristesse semblable.

La deuxième strophe du rondeau¹ du Ms. 402 de Lille: *O vos omnes qui la voye passez* présente un texte assez voisin:

¹ Marcel Françon, *Poèmes de transition* (Cambridge-Paris, 1938), p. 341. Dans les *Rondeaux en nombre troys cens cinquante* . . . *Nouvellement Imprimez à Paris* (f. 44v.), l'incipit du rondeau est: *O vous mortelz* . . .

Tous mes espritz et membres sont lassez
 D'y cheminer; voyez doncques assez
 S'il est douleur plus grande que la mienne,
 O vos omnes.

Inutile de dire qu'il s'agit ici des tourments infligés par une 'femme du monde' que ceux qui l'aiment voudraient plus constante dans ses affections.

MARCEL FRANÇON

Harvard University

REVIEWS

The Alphabet: a Key to the History of Mankind. By DAVID DIRINGER. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. 607 pages with 256 illustrations in the text. \$12.00.

This great work, appearing simultaneously in England and the United States, will certainly displace all other books in its field for some time to come, at least for librarians and general readers. It contains an extraordinary mass of material in over 600 compactly printed pages, and the illustrations are mostly new and good. The author's bibliographical scent is rarely at fault and his reproduction of the essential facts concerning several hundred scripts from all over the world is in general accurate. A few striking omissions will be listed at the end of this review.

Dr. Diringer is a Semitist by training (at Rome and Florence), but he has resisted the temptation to emphasize the Semitic scripts at the expense of others. Indeed he seems to be inclined, if anything, to overstress exotic and ephemeral systems of writing at the expense of better known scripts. However, since he always includes elaborate bibliographies, this "fault" will undoubtedly be considered a virtue by librarians.

The present book represents an expansion and a revision of the author's earlier book, *L'alfabeto nella storia della civiltà* (Florence, 1937). It is divided into two main parts: I, Non-alphabetic systems of writing; II, Alphabetic scripts. In successive chapters in the first part Dr. Diringer takes up successively such distinct ideo-

Aubry a aussi cité (pp. 159-160) un poème de La Ceppède intitulé *Vezilla Regis*: c'est une allusion à l'Hymne de la Sainte-Croix de Venantius Fortunatus. Une partie du texte latin de cet hymne a été mis en musique par Delarue (cf. *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche* [Cambridge-Paris, 1934], pp. 191 et 226).

graphic and syllabic systems as cuneiform, Egyptian hieroglyphic, Cretan, Indus Valley writing, Hittite, Chinese, Middle American, and the script of Easter Island. In Chapters IX and X he deals with miscellaneous ideographic and syllabic scripts, arranged with little regard for their historical or geographical relationship. Chapter XI is devoted to "quasi-alphabetic scripts," including Old Persian and Meroitic. The second part of the book is divided into ten chapters, which deal successively with the origin of the alphabet, South Semitic, Canaanite (Phoenician), Aramaic, non-Semitic offshoots of Aramaic, Indian, Further Indian (Indo-Chinese and Malayo-Indonesian), Greek and its offshoots, Italic (exclusive of Latin), Latin, runes and oghams, etc.

The author has read very widely and intelligently in preparing for this work, and his information is generally complete up to the year 1946, by which time the manuscript appears to have gone to press. There are a few striking oversights (few indeed when one considers the enormous mass of material which had to be digested, nearly all of it outside of the author's own specialties). For instance, he has overlooked C. W. Blegen's discovery in 1939 of an archive of six hundred clay tablets in Minoan Linear B from the thirteenth century B. C.; cf. p. 76, where the "thousands" of clay tablets in Linear B found at Cnossus (Knossos) in Crete should be reduced to "about fourteen hundred." Since Blegen's discovery was made at the site of Messenian Pylus, in the Peloponnesus, it is of the utmost potential significance for future interpretation of the Cretan and Mycenaean script of the Late Bronze Age.

Diringer is right in reducing the age of the Harappa culture of the Indus Valley, together with the hundreds of inscriptions on seals which belong to it (p. 83). There can no longer be any doubt that this culture was roughly contemporaneous with the Babylonian Dynasty of Accad (24th-22nd centuries B. C.), so the date of the script must be brought down even later than supposed by Diringer. On the basis of comparative archaeology it seems probable that the script ceased to be employed after about the 22nd century B. C., several centuries before the probable date of the Indo-Aryan invasion of India (when the Vedic age begins).

The decipherment of hieroglyphic Hittite (pp. 89-97), already well advanced by the labors of Meriggi, Bossert, Gelb and Hrozný, promises to be completed soon, thanks to the discovery in 1946-47 of long bilinguals in Phoenician and Hittite. Found by Bossert at Kara Tepe in Cilicia, these texts have in part been published, and their discoverer is now hard at work on the study of the Hittite inscriptions. It may be added, in partial correction of the author's statements, that we now know of at least four related languages with Indo-European affinities which obviously separated from the ancestral stock much earlier than the previously known groups: cuneiform Hittite, hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian or Luyyan, Palaic. Moreover, Lycian and Lydian (pp. 462 ff.) are no longer to be

regarded as non-Indo-European, but as younger cognates of this same "Asianic" family, to which Armenian probably belongs (though the relationship is obscured by a heavy deposit of later Iranian elements).

The treatment of the origin of our own alphabet (pp. 195 ff.) is judicious, though the reviewer would dissent from some of the author's opinions. Now that it has become possible to date the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions rather confidently in the fifteenth century B. C., they fit neatly into the general picture of the evolution of the Northwest Semitic alphabet. Moreover, the reviewer's decipherment (published in the April [1948] number of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*) yields results which fully agree with our present knowledge of the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of the Northwest Semitic language then spoken in Palestine, Phoenicia and Lower Egypt. It follows that Gardiner's theory of the acrophonic origin of the alphabet is right, against Diringier.

For some reason the author has omitted any reference to the debate between Berthold Ullman and Rhys Carpenter about the date of the borrowing of the Canaanite (Phoenician) alphabet by the Greeks (cf. his discussion and bibliography on pp. 451 ff., 461 f.). The former maintains a date not later than cir. 1100 B. C.; the latter insists on a date not far from 700 B. C., and not earlier than the middle of the eighth century. In the reviewer's opinion Ullman is unquestionably wrong, and Carpenter is a little too low in his chronology, though correct in principle. Ullman compares individual characters in the two systems of writing, while Carpenter insists rightly that only actually employed alphabets consisting of letters used together in inscriptions can be compared. Following Carpenter's principle and availing ourselves of the great advances in this field during the past decade, we come by comparison of the oldest Greek inscriptions with successive stages of the Canaanite alphabet to a date between cir. 825 and 725 B. C.—probably during the first half of the eighth century. The form of such key letters as *kappa* and *mu* points to this period, and the exaggerated shaft characteristic of several of the earliest Greek letters points to the period of exaggerated shafts in the contemporary Canaanite alphabet.

It is a pleasure to congratulate Dr. Diringier on a splendid accomplishment, which will long remain the most complete and the best informed handbook on the scripts of mankind.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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Heinrich Julius Duke of Brunswick. By A. H. J. KNIGHT
(Modern Language Studies III). Oxford: Basil Blackwell,
1948. Pp. vii + 147. 12/6.

Since the title of Mr. Knight's monograph does not specify the literary work of the Duke as the aim of its study, its occasional excursions into the field of history proper are not wholly beside the point but are of doubtful validity when H. J. is represented as the scape-goat of that unfortunate age in which all the democratic currents of German historical development were thwarted and in which an urban culture gave way to the autocratic regimes of numerous petty rulers, a phenomenon to be regretted but not much elucidated as to its causes in Mr. Knight's presentation. A certain weakness of Mr. Knight's literary study, on the other hand, results from the absence of a clear and consistent application of a standard of valuations in this field. We are, after all, not interested in the Duke as a ruler and as an exponent of German mentality but in H. J. as a playwright. And as a playwright again he can hardly be praised for having produced in *Vincentius Ladislaus* "one of the best of all German comedies of any age" (p. 83) which might stand favorable comparison with *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Der zerbrochene Krug*, and the plays of Molière. (For that, it is too much of a hodge-podge of anecdotes.) He interests us clearly as an author of the transition from sixteenth to seventeenth century drama. Hence, an absolute esthetic valuation seems futile, his works not attaining permanent rank; valuation can here be only relative and historical and we must ask what were his intentions and how far was he able to put them into practice.

The Horatian *prodesse* and *delectare* are, no doubt, the two main-springs of his production and the figure of the Fool is the outstanding exponent of these intentions. Jan Bouset delights his audience with a good deal of horseplay (for which Mr. Knight apparently has no great liking except for the device of mishearing) and he is the mouthpiece for the Duke's preaching, either negatively as in Jan's adherence to catholicism (in the longer *Susanna*) or positively as a foil of sound common sense for the sins and extravagances of other characters. Much of the conservative rationality of the Nethersaxon Duke, the Braunschweiger of the basin between the Elbe and Weser north of the Harz mountains, is reflected in this Fool, a fact which Mr. Knight might better substitute for his "German national Mind"; and there is another and more esthetic factor which has escaped his attention, namely H. J.'s keen, probably humanistic enjoyment in using language as a plaything on the one hand and as an instrument for achieving his non-esthetic effects on the other. Hence his pleasure in employing dialects, not only his native Saxon tongue (not mixed with Frankonian as so often assumed!) which he probably spoke to his servants and to some of his subjects every day, but other dialects as well; hence his Latin puns

and his dramatic diction in which he achieves genuine comic and tragic effects, a fact which Mr. Knight concedes. If H. J. did not aim at individualizing his characters by means of language, that is, of course, a deficiency. But his intention of driving home his morals was his foremost purpose and to that end he played on the receptiveness of his audience, speaking through his characters directly, using them as mouthpieces for his teachings. Mr. Knight's conjecture that the Duke must have had a certain model for his Vincentius because he himself, a good latinist, could not have invented the latter's faultily Latin is invalidated by Jan Clant's comical distich: "Armer Mannus ego per corbam vallere cogor / Cor mochte in dausent springere frusta meum."

It is, moreover, entirely beside the point to argue that *Der Fleischhauer* may be a poor play esthetically, but that it "contains much that is interesting and instructive, and a good deal that seems to me of considerable significance in the history of culture." This is the point of view of the historian but not of the historian of literature.

Furthermore, it impresses one as a piece of war psychology when Mr. Knight insists upon seeing in H. J. an exponent of German sadism and cruelty although he has exonerated his hero on page 37 with these words: "Even in *Der Fleischhauer* there are no inhuman monsters . . . nor is there any of that sadistic and blood-thirsty weltering which, as we have seen, has sometimes erroneously been taken as the essential component of Heinrich Julius' tragedies." (p. 37) In fact, Mr. Knight sees in this a peculiarity of the English comedians (p. 33) and "of the manner of Seneca and Kyd." (p. 52) All the more surprising now to find his harking back with assent to that accusation in the later parts of his book, especially when reference is made to *Faust*, Kleist, Tieck, Arnim, Hoffmann, Büchner, Hebbel, and Hauptmann (*Hannele!*)

It belongs to the same line of thinking when the argument is proffered that Vincentius is a victim of a mentality which would mistreat the individual "as a discarded social type, the representative of talents and ideals which the State no longer recognizes or needs." (p. 88) Vincentius, for that matter, cannot possibly be regarded as a "discarded type" according to Mr. Knight's own description since he is the first of the bombastic Baroque characters. It must, therefore, be Duke Silvester who is behind his time, especially as members of the court in their common sense speech and behavior show none of the "exuberant tendency to Baroque ornamentation of language" with which this Paduan Vincentius is afflicted, probably on account of his Italian provenience.

In *Vincentius* Mr. Knight sees the Duke's best achievement while his attempt to create a Baroque tragedy in *Der ungeratene Sohn* miscarried since "here the offences go against the world order" and hence "involves a tragic view of life" not in harmony with the

Duke's general attitude. However, since the villain is punished just as in all the other plays, the world order is in no way disturbed and, therefore, Mr. Knight's argument seems hardly justified. The long as well as the short *Susanna* both belong rather more to the preceding century and are in spite of certain merits summarily dismissed with an unwarranted accusation that their admirers, Holl and Grimm, have never read the play. Holl, by the way, unmistakably characterizes *Vincentius* as the Duke's most interesting production while praising in *Susanna* (as his "Hauptdrama," which does not necessarily mean his "best play") the polymythian structure and other attempts at a new technique.

It is a questionable hypothesis to assume that H. J. was detached and conscious enough of his own limitations so that he "may have been content to stop at the height of his success and reputation rather than risk an almost certain decline of both," questionable especially in the light of the naïveté repeatedly attributed to him.

In spite of this lengthy list of strictures and disagreements with the author, however, the reviewer does not wish to suggest that Mr. Knight's investigation is without merit. Granted a critical reader, it should prove to be a useful and exhaustive study of the subject, to which little could be added.¹

ERNST FEISE

Essays um Goethe. Zweiter Band. Von ERNST BEUTLER. Mit 17 Abbildungen. Wiesbaden: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung [1947]. Pp. xix + 372.

Erschüttert und mit Grauen liest man den Vorbericht dieses Buches, der von dem stufenweisen Untergang des alten Goethegeburtshauses im Großen Hirschgraben durch Brand und Bomben erzählt, und findet sich am Schlusse wieder aufgerichtet durch den Mut und die Zuversicht Ernst Beutlers, seines Direktors, aus dessen Worten der Lebensmut des Dichters spricht, der ihn mit seinem Geiste erfüllt hat wie der Gott des Altertums seinen Priester und Seher. Nur so verstehen wir eigentlich, wie es dem Goetheforscher Beutler möglich war, ein solch im Grunde heiteres Buch über die Goethezeit zu schreiben, in welchem wir die Lili und die Corona, den Maler Kraus und den Baumeister Coudray, den Schweizer Knaben Peter im Baumgarten und den Heidjer Eckermann um und mit Goethe leben und wirken sehen.

Ein reizendes Büchlein für einen Damentisch mit seinen anmutigen Bildern, möchte man es nennen, wenn es nicht zugleich ein gewichtiges Buch für den Forscher wäre. Aus überragender Sach-

¹ Probably owing to the present disorganization of bibliographical instruments the valuable dissertation of Pfützenreuter (Münster 1936) has escaped the author's attention.

kenntnis, Leben in den Personen, den Orten, der Gesellschaft der Goethezeit, Meister des Wortes und der Stimmung kann Beutler mit den Dingen spielen ohne je die tiefe und ernste Bedeutung der Vorgänge aus den Augen zu verlieren, nicht nur für jene sondern auch für unsere Tage. Ob er in beiläufig eingefügten Relativsätzen für den Uneingeweihten ein Lebensbild rundet, ob er auf Grund neuer Funde nach gründlicher Prüfung eine landläufige Tradition abtut, immer schöpft er aus dem Ganzen und geht auf das Ganze.

Am schönsten ist von den sechs Lebensbildern vielleicht das erste und das letzte. Im ersten hat Beutler die goldne Atmosphäre der Lilizeit eingefangen, aber zugleich auch den Untergrund eines tragischen Losreißen Goethes von jenem Wesen, das wie keine andere vielleicht dem Dichter hätte ebenbürtige Gattin werden können; im letzten errichtet er dem treuen Helfer und berufenen Porträtisten des alten Goethe, Johann Peter Eckermann, dessen künstlerisches Darstellen so oft unterschätzt worden ist, ein würdiges Denkmal. Der Band schließt mit einer feinfühligten Geschichte der Motivwandlung einer Ballade, vom "Geistesgruß" über den "König von Thule" bis zur "Lorelei," einer Wandlung, die zugleich durch ein Beispiel drei geistes- und formgeschichtlich aufeinanderfolgende Generationen der Romantik im weiteren Sinne des Wortes kontrastiert. Hier allein kann ich einen Zweifel nicht unterdrücken, den ich von je der Wertung des "Königs von Thule" gegenüber gefühlt habe: ist diese Dichtung nicht sehr zeitbedingt? Ist sie nicht nach dem Werther mit dem Egmont sogar schon für Goethe überlebt? Ein wenig Rittertheatralik, nicht echt volksliedhaft wie das "Heidenröslein" sondern vom Ossian her sentimentalisiert, wie dieser alte Herr noch im Sterben Staatsgeschäfte und Liebestreue vor seinen Rittern abhandelt. Die Worte Zelters über den Vortrag des Gedichtes an eine junge Sängerin, "Bitte—sanft und frei,—als säßen Sie am Ufer des Meeres, ganz in Gedanken versunken," geben fast der Erklärung Berlioz' recht, wenn er sagt: "Il est évident que rien au monde n'occupe moins Marguerite dans ce moment que les malheurs du roi der Thulé; c'est une visible histoire qu'elle a apprise dans son enfance et qu'elle fredonne avec distraction." Wie sollte Gretchen, die ganz Untheatralische, es auch sonst singen, so daß es der Zuschauer versteht, ohne theatralisch zu werden?

Aber das ist ein Einwand, mit dem diese Anzeige eines Buches eigentlich nicht belastet werden sollte, das gleicherweise für den Goethekenner wie den Goethefreund eine goldene Gabe ist.

ERNST FEISE

Chaucer's World. Compiled by EDITH RICKERT, edited by CLAIR C. OLSON and MARTIN M. CROW, illustrations selected by MARGARET RICKERT. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1948. Pp. xxii + 456. \$6.75.

This book, originally designed as a memorial to Edith Rickert, may be described as an anthology made up of excerpts chiefly documentary rather than literary in character, and given unity by being "grouped about the life of a typical fourteenth-century person" (p. xi). Though Chaucer, the person in question, was a man of genius and therefore anything but typical of his time, his life of course had many aspects typical enough, and it is upon these aspects that the book throws light, as a rule. Not always, it is true. Sometimes the selections were chosen for other reasons, though even so they also serve to illustrate Chaucer's world. For instance, we read, "Believing, as some of us now do, that Chaucer had the habit of drawing his figures from the life, we are faced with the question whether Gilbert Maghfeld was the original of the Merchant" (p. 192). Miss Rickert's interest in this question had much to do with her decision to include in her book a long series of excerpts from Maghfeld's account book (pp. 185-193); the particular excerpts chosen in many cases have Chaucerian associations of one kind or another, and one of them is about Chaucer himself, or so it would seem. The introduction of such matter is of course not merely proper but happy. Miss Rickert and her associates in the work have made the documentary material far more interesting to us by including many selections which "deal with people, places, or events that Chaucer himself knew or knew of" (p. xi).

The anthology falls into ten parts, illustrative of as many aspects of fourteenth-century ways: (1) London Life, (2) the home, (3) training and education, (4) careers, (5) entertainment, (6) travel, (7) war, (8) the rich and the poor, (9) religion, and (10) death and burial. Many of the excerpts come from familiar and readily accessible sources, as *The Babees Book* and the *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*. But much of the material used has never before been published. The excerpts taken from Latin or French documents are given in translation; those taken from writings in Middle English are given in a more or less modernized form. The source of the excerpt is regularly stated, and there is a considerable amount of annotation and other commentary where such seems needful or for other reasons desirable. Each item is given a descriptive title, supplied by the compiler or one of the editors. In addition, the items are grouped under headings: thus, the first group of items in Chapter 2 (the home) is headed "marriage." It will be seen that the book is carefully organized, and, though designed primarily for readers innocent of foreign languages and even of Middle English, it is provided with the usual scholarly apparatus.

The illustrations are many, well chosen, and nearly always well reproduced. The picture of Miss Rickert herself is particularly good.

One weakness of books of this kind needs to be mentioned, although the reviewer has no cure to suggest. Official records and literary records alike tend to exaggerate the evils of the times; a blameless life more often than not is passed over in silence. This is particularly true of legal records, of course, records made up chiefly of cases involving law-breakers. Miss Rickert was obviously alive to this difficulty; she has found a surprising number of documents descriptive of everyday life. But the unreflecting reader may nevertheless conclude that life in the fourteenth century was lived more dangerously and more wickedly than it really was. Let me end on this note of warning.

KEMP MALONE

The Oxford History of English Literature, edited by F. P. WILSON and BONAMY DOBRÉE. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. Vol. II, Part 1, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, by H. S. BENNETT (1947; pp. viii + 326); Part 2, *The Close of the Middle Ages*, by E. K. CHAMBERS (1945; pp. vi + 247).

Of the twelve volumes which are to make up this history, two have now come out, the fifth and the second. The volume here under review is oddly planned. One would have expected Part 1 to deal with the fourteenth, Part 2 with the fifteenth century. Instead, four essays by E. K. Chambers, devoted respectively to "medieval drama," "the carol and fifteenth-century lyric," "popular narrative poetry and the ballad," and "Malory," have been put together in a book (Part 2) and what was left of fifteenth-century literature has been combined with Chaucer to make another book (Part 1). The fourteenth-century literary monuments not by Chaucer will presumably be treated in the first volume of the history. This separation of Chaucer from his age can hardly be justified, though Mr. Bennett has tried to make up for it by laying special stress on Chaucer's background and the "events which shaped his career" (p. v). Equally objectionable is the division of the fifteenth-century writings, which ought to have been taken up together, if only to bring out their interrelations.

Part 1 is almost evenly divided between Chaucer and the fifteenth century. The author writes pleasantly, and he has obviously borne in mind "not only the scholar but also the 'general reader' who has no special knowledge of English literature but is interested in it for its own sake or as a part of the history of the English people" (back cover). If his discussion seems a bit thin, one must remember that he had a great deal to cover and little space to cover it in: the

text proper is confined to 217 pages, over 100 pages being reserved for chronological tables, bibliography, and index. The author knows his way about, and gives us a useful book. Now and then old misconceptions reveal themselves, as when he quotes the parson's *rum, ram, ruff by lettre* (p. 10) but ignores (like everybody else) the next line:

Ne, god wot, rym holde I but litel bettre.

He also quotes with approval an estimate of Chaucer as "an artist in a sense in which the word can be used of no other English poet before him" (p. 43), forgetting the *Beowulf* poet, who was surely as great an artist, in every sense, as Chaucer. The treatment of Chaucer's diction (pp. 82 ff.) is marred by the dictum "Chaucer wrote in an age when words were still limited in their associations." Actually, of course, words differed then, as they do now, in this matter. The author's illustration, *alone*, is an unhappy one; this word was felt more vividly then than now, and needed no reinforcement by *all* as it needs today. In OE the *ān* by itself meant 'alone,' and the prefixed *al* 'all' served to intensify the meaning, just as *all* now does in *all alone*. It remains true, however, that Chaucer, not unlike our poets of today, deliberately avoided the poetic diction which had come down from OE times and was still in use in the fourteenth century. Unluckily Mr. Bennett's dictum is not so phrased as to bring out this important point, and he says nothing about it in his discussion either. Finally, I note an odd statement in the valuable chapter on the author and his public: "changing conditions in Chaucer's time and after, however, made it increasingly difficult for men to find it worth while to devote their whole time to writing" (p. 109). But were the conditions any more favorable for full-time writing before Chaucer's day?

Part 2 differs markedly from Part 1. It is well written, but makes no concessions to the general reader, who will find its erudite, closely packed pages heavy going. The author gives us an authoritative treatment of the particular matters with which he deals, but his narrative dries up one's mouth. It would hardly do to say that Chambers misses the literary quality of the texts about which he is writing, but he certainly does not dwell upon the artistic side of things. Moreover, the four essays stand each for itself, with little attempt at integration with each other or with the fifteenth century as a whole. In this respect Part 1 is decidedly superior to Part 2, although less authoritative than the work of the old master. It needs to be added that Chambers sometimes shows signs of not being altogether up to date. I note in particular that he still marks long the second (instead of the first) element of OE diphthongs, in accordance with the usage customary in Bosworth's day but long since abandoned (see p. 122).

KEMP MALONE

Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England. By CHARLES W. JONES. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1947. Pp. xvi + 232. \$3.

This fine book falls into two parts: (1) five chapters on hagiography and annalistic writing, chapters which range widely but center about Bede, and (2) two translations, one of the anonymous monk of Whitby's life of Gregory the Great, and one of Felix's life of Cuthbert. After the translations comes a 39-page appendix to chapter 3, followed by 21 pages of notes and a 12-page index. The book has two illustrations, the labels of which have been exchanged. The author writes in a lively and readable style, though his translations do not read so well, since he tries to reproduce (so far as one can in English) the infelicities of the Latin originals. In the following I will limit myself to the first part of the book.

The first chapter, called "The Setting," is the best brief presentation known to me of the conditions which led to the writing of saints' lives and chronicles in the early Middle Ages. Besides, this chapter corrects earlier views in various respects and throws light on everything it touches. The second chapter, "Chronicles," takes up the annalistic matter in certain works of Bede, and plausibly explains how this material came to be written and how it fits into the body of the work of which it makes part. The third chapter has for title "Time References in the Ecclesiastical History." The author here wrestles with a problem recently discussed by W. Levison in Appendix VI of his *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. Levison's solution is attractively simple, but Jones probably comes nearer the truth with his more complicated account of things. This chapter, together with its appendix (see above), also serves as a study of Bede's sources; as such, it will be the part of the book of greatest interest and value to historians. Men of letters, however, will find Jones's fourth and fifth chapters more important. In the fourth chapter, called "Hagiography," the author characterizes and analyses the saint's life as a literary form, using for illustration several lives of the period; in particular, he contrasts Bede's *Historia Abbatum*, a truly historical work, with his life of Cuthbert, a truly hagiographical composition. Jones believes, no doubt rightly, that the great differences between these two pieces of writing reflect differences of *genre*; hagiography is not history, if one looks at the matter from a literary point of view, but something fundamentally different. In chapter five, devoted chiefly to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the author is confronted with a work which combines hagiography and history. He solves the literary problem by calling it a mixture of *genres*; as he puts it, Bede sought "to combine these incongruous [literary] conventions in a single work" (p. 92). But he hastens to add that "the fusion was incomplete." It would be better, I think, to say that there was no fusion, that Bede simply shifted from one *genre* to the

other, time after time, in the course of composition. One may compare the mixture of prose and verse in Icelandic and Irish sagas.

KEMP MALONE

Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue anglaise. By FERNAND MOSSÉ. IAC, Rue Victor-Lagrange, Lyon, 1947. Pp. [xii], 269. = Collection "Les Langues du Monde" publiée par Henri Hierche. Série grammaire, philologie, littérature. Volume II.

This sketch of the history of the English language, though short, is both eminently readable and, as it seems, quite trustworthy, and one would not expect anything else from a scholar of Mossé's standing.

He divides his material into an introduction, dealing with the prehistory of English, and six chapters covering the rest. The first chapter deals with Old English, the second with Middle English, the third with the Renaissance (1500-1660), the fourth with the Restoration and the pre-Romantic movement (1660-1798), the fifth with the nineteenth century and after, and the sixth with English as a World language. Every chapter is followed by a selective bibliography, and the book itself is brought to a close with a general bibliography. These bibliographies testify to the alertness and the discernment of the author: nothing of value seems to have escaped him.

As Mossé remarks in the preface, this is a sketch of the external history of the English language—written from very much the same point of view as Baugh's well known work. An attempt is made to relate the history of the language to political and cultural movements. Hence the attitudes of the speakers and writers to their language are carefully listed when known, the vocabulary and even the style of verse and prose receive as much attention as the syntax and the phonology, which in earlier works received by far the most attention. But comparison with Baugh's work should not lead to the assumption that Mossé has made an extract so to speak from Baugh: on the contrary Mossé obviously draws upon his own collections, for in spite of his conciseness he manages to quote verbatim a good number of passages from English authors illustrating the trend of their opinions and their ways of handling the language. One can guess where these quotations come from when one reads that Mossé has under preparation a *Grammaire historique de la langue anglaise*. May it soon be published!

One more commendable feature of the book might be mentioned: the dialect maps and the graphs showing the influx of French loan-words in English and the frequency of the *will/shall* constructions.

It seems to me that this book might well be translated to take its place with Jespersen's *Growth and Structure* and other foreign works on English.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

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Fernão Mendes Pinto: Un précurseur de l'exotisme au XVI^e siècle.

Par G. LE GENTIL. Paris: Hermann & C^{ie}, Éditeurs, 1947.
Pp. 344.

Fernão Mendes Pinto, diplomat, pirate, merchant, liar, traveler, novelist, would-be Jesuit, companion of St. Francis Xavier, was born in Portugal about 1510. The years 1537 to 1558 he spent in the East, from Abyssinia to Japan, but mainly in the coastal regions and on the adjoining seas of southeast Asia and nearby islands, Burma, Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Siam, southern China, and Kyushu. After his return to Portugal he wrote a book. He died in 1583, leaving behind his manuscript, which was printed in 1614 in Lisbon by Pedro Crasbeeck.¹

The book, which purports to be an account of his adventures, his "peregrination," and of what he saw and heard in the East, has been the subject of much debate. The general tenor of this debate is perhaps best indicated by a pun with which the Portuguese are still fond of plying foreigners: "Fernão, mentes? Minto." Historians of the Society of Jesus, and in particular biographers of St. Francis Xavier, have long been interested in the *Peregrinação* because it is a source for part of the life of the Apostle of the Indies.

Professor Le Gentil has studied the *Peregrinação* closely and carefully and has given us an objective statement of what the book is, of what manner of man its author was. His study is divided into three main sections: I, "Biographie," in which he tries to disentangle the facts of Mendes Pinto's life; II, "Valeur documentaire," in which he attempts to distinguish the true from the false in the account of the places and institutions, particularly the religions, which Mendes Pinto has written; and III, "Valeur littéraire (La mise en œuvre)," in which he endeavors to evaluate the

¹ The title as it appears in the first edition gives an excellent idea of the contents: *Peregrinaçam de Fernam Mendez Pinto. Em que da conta de muytas e muyto estranhas cousas que vio & ouuio no reyno da China, no da Tartaria, no do Sornau, que vulgarmente se chama Sião, no do Calaminhan, no de Pegu, no de Martauão, & em outros muytos reynos & senhorios das partes Orientais, de que nestas nossas do Occidente ha muyto pouca ou nenhũa noticia. E tambem da conta de mvytos casos particulares que acontecerão assi a elle como a outras muytas pessoas. E no fim della trata breucemente de algũas cousas, & da morte do santo Padre mestre Francisco Xauier, vnica luz & resplendor daquellas partes do Oriente, & Reytor nellas vniuersal da Companhia de Iesus.* (Copy in Harvard College Library.)

good Fernão as a writer, psychologist, *moraliste*, and precursor. The dominant conclusion is that the *Peregrinação* is not an autobiography but a novel, "un roman documenté et documentaire" (p. 237). It is a mixture of the true and the false, of observations and hearsay, of the unconsciously twisted and the purposely distorted, with a strong artistic current throughout. "Donc il ne composera ni une histoire, ni un routier, ni une cosmographie. Quand on cherche à définir la solution inédite, mais hybride qu'il a trouvée, on penche tantôt vers le roman, tantôt vers le récit documentaire du type de l'*Histoire tragico-maritime*" (p. 260).

The author skillfully places the *Peregrinação* in its proper setting in the development of exoticism in western European literature, of travel literature, of that literature which opened Europe's eyes to new horizons, with extraordinary and well-known results in eighteenth-century France.²

A propos of Fernão Mendes Pinto's fate in France in the seventeenth century (p. 304), the ballet *L'oracle de la Sybille de Pan-soust*, of 1645, is of interest, for *entrée* XIII presents "Fernand Mendez Pinto, avec deux matelots, consultant l'oracle sur la découverte de l'isle de Calampluy."³

In an appendix to his study, Professor Le Gentil discusses the exotic vocabulary of Mendes Pinto. He does not, however, draw on the two short articles which Dr. A. R. Nykl has published in *Petrus Nonius*.⁴

Both Professor Le Gentil and Dr. Nykl call attention to the need for a critical edition of the *Peregrinação*, with full commentary and, I would add, adequate maps, an edition not unlike the Yule *Marco Polo*. There is also need of a popular edition of the text in English. The 1891 reprint⁵ of Henry Cogan's translation is not available on the market and the recent *Portuguese Voyages* in the Everyman's Library gives only one rather long extract.⁶

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² Two other recently published books on this subject are most valuable: Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature (1520-1660)*, Paris, 1940, and Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *L'Orient Romanesque en France 1704-1789*, Montreal, 1946, with a second volume, *Bibliographie Générale*, Montreal, 1947.

³ Cf. Victor Fournel, *Les contemporains de Molière*, Tome deuxième, Paris, 1866, p. 272.

⁴ A. R. Nykl, "Algumas observações sobre as línguas citadas na 'Peregrinação' de Fernão Mendes Pinto," *Petrus Nonius*, III (1941), 180-185;

⁵ Mais observações sobre as línguas citadas na 'Peregrinação' de Fernão Mendes Pinto," *Petrus Nonius*, IV (1942), 57-58.

⁶ *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese. An abridged and illustrated edition*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891, xxxii and 464 pp.

⁷ *Portuguese Voyages 1498-1663. Edited by Charles David Ley*, London and New York, 1947 (Everyman's Library: 986).

The New Science of Giambattista Vico. Translated from the third edition (1744) by THOMAS GODDARD BERGIN and MAX HAROLD FISCH. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1948. Pp. xv + 398.

The first German and French translations of the *Scienza Nuova* go back to the eighteen-twenties; the first English translation has just been published. As it is the latest, it is also the most complete and accurate which has come to my knowledge; and it is more adequate to the genius of the author than most of the earlier ones.

It is both passionately exciting and exceedingly difficult to translate Vico. During the first decades of the eighteenth century, long before the dawn of Romanticism, in a Cartesian atmosphere of scientific thought, an atmosphere alien to any philosophy based on the study of human history, Vico created a conception of historical evolution founded on his discovery of the magic and animistic character of primitive society. He anticipated almost all the basic principles of modern ethnology, and his work contains the germs of almost all modern ideas about the origin and early development of religion, language, poetry, law and society. It is highly speculative and full of errors in detail; but it is superior to modern scientific works of a similar kind by its magnificent unity of inspiration. Vico's ideas are the result of an interpretation of classical myth and poetry and of Roman law; they are the achievements of an old professor of Latin rhetoric; they are presented in a style which is a unique combination of an immense, but somewhat confused erudition, and of an almost mystic intuition. Once his Italian style has been mastered, it reveals its suggestive power and its moving beauty: to imitate it in another language and in another era is a tremendous task. Vico writes long, involved sentences, linked together by a continuous flowing movement, a *motus animi continuus*; there is, in the rhythm of his sentences, a particular kind of stressing; in his self-created terminology he uses certain words in different meanings, to be understood only in the context. A translator is in constant danger either of becoming obscure by following Vico too closely or of ruining his style, which is essential for the substance of his ideas.

Each sentence and each word of this translation reveals the continuous endeavour to understand and the patient love which Professor Bergin and Professor Fisch have devoted to the exact rendering of the movement of idea and rhythm. On the whole, they have been very conservative, especially with regard to the terminology, where they have followed Vico's expressions as closely as possible; they explain their procedure in the short preface, and it is, indeed, the safest way: all paraphrasing involves interpretation. Still, at times, cautious interpretation might be useful. In my German translation (1924), I was obliged to paraphrase or even to

change much more than the English translators did; e.g., it is possible to render Vico's *civile* by English *civil*, but in German, neither *zivil* nor *bürgerlich* can be used; I was obliged to resort to *geschichtlich*, and sometimes to *politisch*; and I felt that a certain degree of paraphrastic interpretation can make the terms more readily understood. The translators have been less conservative when it comes to style and syntax; they have broken up most of Vico's long sentences. Again, there can be no doubt that it is the right way, even a necessity if one wants to write English. And still, there are certain convolutions which are destroyed by this procedure and which an admirer of Vico's style may miss with regret. There are also a few passages where I disagree with the translation; I have submitted my observations to the translators for consideration. But none of these possible mistakes is really inimical to the understanding of Vico's main ideas.

The admirable editions and researches of Croce and Nicolini have considerably helped Vico students during the last 40 years. The translators were able to use Mr. Nicolini's *editio minor*, published in 1928, with its clear disposition and numbering of the paragraphs. As in this edition, there are neither an introduction nor notes in the translation. As for an introduction, Professor Fisch has given it earlier in his and Mr. Bergin's translation of Vico's autobiography (1944). It is a very good and modern introduction, enriched by the results of Nicolini's recent researches;¹ it also contains some very interesting facts and suggestions concerning Vico's reputation and influence in England and America. As for the notes, some short explanations of contemporary discussions and of certain quotations and allusions might have been useful. But this is not important. The translators have succeeded in giving a good English text of the *Scienza Nuova*, the first and the greatest monument of modern historical thought. I hope many readers may feel something of that severe joy (*res severa verum gaudium*) which the writers have certainly felt during their work.

ERICH AUERBACH

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¹ Since 1944, Mr. Nicolini has published a completed and reorganized edition of Croce's *Bibliografia Vichiana* (2 vol., Napoli, Ricciardi, 1947-48), and a new edition of the *Autobiografia* (Milano, Bompiani, 1947). The latter contains in its appendix (*Medaglioni illustrativi*) not only a résumé of his earlier biographical researches, but also some important new material. I have found most interesting the chapters on Vico's friends and on the Neapolitan "atheists."

Dante's American Pilgrimage. A Historical Survey of Dante Studies in the United States 1800-1944. By ANGELINA LA PIANA. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 310.

In some of its details, the record of the study and enjoyment of Dante in America is curiously impressive. Charles Eliot Norton's translation of the *Vita Nuova*, for instance, was first published in three consecutive issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* (Jan.-March, 1859); the first issue of the *National Quarterly Review* (1860) carried a long article on Dante by its editor; and from around that time to the present no less than a dozen translations of the entire *Divina Commedia* have been made in this country. Professor La Piana counts nine. But since her book went to press a new translation of the poem has been distributed to subscribers by the Book of the Month Club and this reviewer has seen in manuscript two more translations which aspire to early publication. Even so, our record in translations of the poem will hardly compare with that of England where fifteen translations of the Comedy appeared in the space of twenty years (1880-1900).

Of course, the vogue of Dante in America may not properly be explained by the cultural historian in isolation from the study of Dante in England. Prof. La Piana is well aware of the fact. There is, indeed, one significant aspect of the matter which she is quick to point out: the early study of Dante in America, for all its dependence upon the rise of that study in Romantic times in England, was one of the forces which contributed toward breaking the hold of a too narrow and provincial preoccupation with the literature of the mother country. The study of Dante, because of our particular situation in history, became a broadening influence with us in quite a special way.

The fifty-year-old work of T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, had been the only general survey of the subject available. Prof. La Piana's study will therefore be most welcome: to specialists in Dante, first of all, because her work presents a detailed, thorough, and accurate inventory of the whole of Dante scholarship in America from even pre-scholarly times to the present; and to historians of American culture, because it is precisely a noteworthy chapter in that more general subject.

The author has nowhere lost sight of the historical importance of her subject. Neither has she exaggerated it. This type of study is usually threatened, on the one hand, by a loss of perspective due to the arbitrary isolation of the subject; and, on the other, by the temptation to allow the survey to become an inventory list of names and titles connected in any kind of exposition which will serve that purpose. With this particular study there was perhaps a third danger: that the *cult* of Dante itself and that certain names connected with it (Longfellow, Lowell, Norton, Grandgent) should bring about a certain uncritical if not worshipful attitude on the

part of its author. None of this has happened. On the contrary, one admires throughout not only the firmness and fairness of the author's judgment, but a strain of irony and humor as well.

Should it happen that another half century pass before a general survey of Dante studies in America is again undertaken, one may hope that by that time those studies will have deserved as good an historian as they have found in the present instance.

CHARLES S. SINGLETON

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Between Fixity and Flux, A Study of the Concept of Poetry in the Criticism of T. S. Eliot. By SISTER MARY CLEOPHAS COSTELLO. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. 122.

In 1929 T. S. Eliot wrote of the urgent need "for experiment in criticism of a new kind, which will consist largely in a logical and dialectical study of the terms used" (p. 1). The present dissertation undertakes to determine what T. S. Eliot himself has discovered about the meaning of the term *poetry*. That he has not arrived at a final definition is, of course, implicit in one of his broadest critical aims, which is, as this reviewer conceives it, to assist the esthetician in forming a modern poetics but not to construct that poetics himself. In searching out the contradictions in Eliot's use of terms and his failure to locate the differentia of poetry, Sister Costello makes the ultimate demand on this poet's criticism; namely, that it be systematic and that it be synthesized into a logical whole. "The critic," she maintains, "if he is to be consistent and clear, must have an explicit philosophical background" (p. 108). This dictum, however true, should not be applied to the criticism of T. S. Eliot, which contains its expressed limitations and is, on the whole, a system of questions. Still, it is of great importance to follow the development of Eliot's terms and contradictions, and Sister Costello has discharged this function admirably.

The author makes a careful examination of Eliot's views on the "structure of meaning" and the affective use of poetry. These questions introduce the elements of feeling and emotion as factors in the total structure of the poem. A poem is a structure of meanings because it is built of words, but it is also "a structure of sounds whose fitness contributes materially to the unity of the whole work" (p. 60). The "meaning structures," at least in the kind of poetry Eliot admires, are apprehensible as thought but are somehow brought within the grasp of feeling. A poet's use of philosophy, for example, is not to support the truth of an assertion but to use it as a datum of perception, to deal with it in terms of something

perceived. Thus a whole poetic work becomes, as Eliot says, "intellectual sanction for feeling, and esthetic sanction for thought." Nevertheless, poetry is not a transference of human emotion from artist to audience, but the creation of an art object in which emotion is depersonalized and the feeling made "significant" for art. The poet finds an "objective correlative" for his emotion and this is the formula for that particular emotion in the poem.

Sister Costello treats Eliot's term *poetry*, in the following summation: "... if in a sound structure which is perfectly adapted to it the affective meaning is 'fixed with intensity' in a cognitive meaning structure, that discourse is poetry" (p. 85). What ultimately differentiates poetry from "verse" is the degree of intensity with which the affective meaning is fixed in the cognitive meaning. If the intensity is greater in the affective meaning, that meaning supposedly will begin to *act*, as prose discourse acts, and "verse" will result.

Apart from the grave demand for consistency and logic that Sister Costello makes upon her subject, this study of Eliot's concept of *poetry* is a sound prosodic document written on a level of inquiry which most 19th century studies in this science failed even to attempt.

KARL SHAPIRO

The Johns Hopkins University

The Prosodic Theory of Gerard Manley Hopkins. By SISTER MARCELLA MARIE HOLLOWAY. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. 121.

Until quite recently the study of Gerard Manley Hopkins as a prosodic theorist has been largely ignored in favor of the poet's remarks, often of a fragmentary kind, on his own prosodic practice. Two reasons are uppermost: the general disinterest in theory of prosody and the unavailability of Hopkins' materials. Between 1918, the date of the first edition of the poems, and 1935, when the Hopkins papers began to be published, certain prejudices about Hopkins' theory and practice of poetry became well established. Chiefly, it was believed that Hopkins' account of his prosody was an attempt to justify the extreme "license" of his versification, that his theory, if any, was a subterfuge, and that in reality he was ignorant of his subject. Among the critics who contributed to these views were J. M. Hone, Robert Bridges, George Saintsbury, T. S. Omond, I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, G. M. Young, and T. S. Eliot—in short, some of the foremost critics of the age. A more serious type of investigation based on all known Hopkins materials has superseded most of this early criticism; such studies as W. H.

Gardner's *Gerard Manley Hopkins* (1944), Harold Whitehall's *Sprung Rhythm* (1945), and the present dissertation are examples.

Sister Holloway suggests that from his earliest writings Hopkins was searching for a common prosodic principle that would include structures of meaning and structures of sound. Poetry, according to this theory, "is a structure of intimately related parallelisms, the structure influencing the thought, the thought in turn being shaped or formed by the conditions of the rhythm" (p. 24). There is little question that Hopkins' primary concern with the structure of the literary object, its unity and its inner diversity, led to his penetrating insights into the nature of English rhythms and the rise of his own system of prosody.

Various characteristics of Hopkins' own verse practices are shown convincingly to be based upon his general view of the nature of English rhythm, although "scansion" was never, in the poet's mind, the end of prosody. The background of the "Preface" is considerably deepened in the chapters on *Metre* and "*Sprung Rhythm*" and *Time and Measure*. Hopkins' interest in triple time cadences and ballad measure relates him to Coleridge in practice and Patmore in theory; his interest in Milton's versification, which this study documents very well, sheds the best light on "counterpoint" rhythms. The influences of Welsh and Anglo-Saxon rhythms, however, are not so well detailed.

Perhaps the best service of this dissertation is that of bringing to light the importance of quantity in Hopkins' theory. Time or equality in strength is shown to be of more importance in sprung rhythm than in common rhythm and an essential part of the prosody of accentual verse (pp. 76-77). The question raised by Mr. Harold Whitehall that Hopkins was following Patmore's theory of time almost to the letter is treated carefully, though not definitively, but the important distinction is made that Hopkins, unlike Patmore, did not believe that time alone is measured. Hopkins did not make measure synonymous with time.

KARL SHAPIRO

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Le Prérromantisme, études d'histoire européenne. La Découverte de Shakespeare sur le continent. Par PAUL VAN TIEGHEM.
Paris: Sfelt, 1947. Pp. xii + 412.

This book and its sequel¹ on the Romantic period constitute the last portion of the legacy bequeathed by Professor Van Tieghem to all those who are interested in comparative literature. He

¹ *L'ère romantique. Le romantisme dans la littérature européenne.* Paris, A. Michel, 1948.

shows in it that the first important criticism of Shakespeare to be written in a foreign country was the *Dissertation sur la poésie anglaise*² that appeared at The Hague in the *Journal littéraire* of 1717, but that Voltaire was the first continental to give Shakespeare's plays wide publicity. At first these were chiefly *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Romeo*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear*. The first translation of an entire play was Borck's *Julius Caesar* of 1741; the first of a series of plays was that of La Place in 1745-6; the first complete translations were those of Eschenburg in 1775-7 and of Le Tourneur in 1776-82. It was chiefly through Ducis's adaptations that certain tragedies became known in Italy, Spain, Holland, and Sweden.³ Late in the century the Germans, thanks to Lessing, Wieland, Herder, and Schlegel, rather than the French, guided continental opinion in regard to Shakespeare. The eighteenth century was little moved by the poetry of Shakespeare, but rather by his "pensées saisissantes, les traits de caractère d'une vérité profonde, plus tard la composition et le développement des caractères, la force et le mouvement de l'action."⁴ He helped to free dramatists from the consecrated rules of unity and propriety, to develop the use of national history, of bourgeois drama, of violent action, of realistic speech. His "genius" was opposed to the "taste" of the conservatives. "Génie sauvage: ce mot, injure dans la bouche de Voltaire, devient éloge dans celle de Goethe."⁵

Many of these findings are not new, but it is well to have them stated in an authoritative fashion by one who had an unusually wide knowledge of the European scene and who was able to present his material in so clear and convincing a manner.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

² "On l'attribue à La Roche, réfugié français." Professor Bonno thinks that it was more probably by Van Effen.

³ Pp. 246-8.

⁴ P. 398.

⁵ P. 400. I have noted only a few errors: p. 4, for 1623 read 1632; p. 14, for 1728 read 1725; pp. 4-5, the remarks about Jusserand and Nicolas Clément should be corrected in accordance with my article in the December, 1948, number of *MLN*; pp. 7-8, I am surprised to find no reference to the translation of Collier that appeared in 1715 with several references to Shakespeare; p. 237, Van T. states that Ducis's adaptation of *Hamlet* was "donnée comme de Ducis, et de lui seul," but in the *Registres* of the Comédie Française for Sept. 30, 1769, I read "Hamelet tragedie nouvelle imitée de langlais"; p. 239, Ducis's *Roméo* is considered a tragedy that is "politique plus encore que passionnelle," though one would not infer from this statement that the principal character, old Montaigu, is moved, not by political considerations, but by his passionate desire for vengeance.

Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. Volume II. *A Bibliography of Emblem Books.* By MARIO PRAZ. London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947. Pp. xi + 209.

Delayed from publication for several years on account of the German occupation of Belgium, volume II of Prof. Praz's *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* presents us now with a bibliography of emblem books, which, announced in the foreword of volume I, completes the most detailed study of emblem literature to date. Prof. Praz has assembled this bibliography from existing catalogues as well as from personal research in both private and public libraries. A list of catalogues and libraries consulted can be found on pages ix-x, where, however, we regret not to notice the following catalogues which might have contributed many items to the work under consideration: *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Van der Helle*, Paris, 1863; *Catalogue des livres composant la Bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild*, Paris, 1884-1920.

Prof. Praz has given with commendable accuracy the full title of the book and the collation when possible, for he was unable to see all the books described. In a compact way he has also included other pertinent information such as the number of emblems and plates, the artist, the location of the book, other editions, the various translations, and their translators. When space did not permit to give all the available bibliographical details, we are conveniently guided to the appropriate reference work containing that material. Pages 180-201 concern themselves with emblems and devices for festivities, funerals, degrees, etc.; pages 203-209 are devoted to a valuable index of artists.

The problem of selectivity in a work of this kind must have been difficult, for the classification of exactly what should be considered an emblem book is at times not very clearly defined. Thus items like Erasmus: *Stultitiae Laus*, Basel, 1676 with illustrations by Holbein, and many illustrated books, which, however, really belong to the literature of fables, are included, but then a note to that effect has been added by the author. Although Gracián drew many of his examples from Alciati's emblems, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* cannot be properly listed with emblem books. It is curious to notice the omission of Ferrer de Valdecebro: *Gobierno general, moral y político hallado en las fieras y animales sylvestres*, although the same author's *Gobierno general, moral y político hallado en las aves mas generosas* is listed.

Disregarding the lacunae which inevitably occur in such a pioneering work, one may conclude that Prof. Praz with this laudable volume has consolidated the material existing in private and public libraries and has rekindled an interest in this somewhat neglected branch of literature. The bibliography will serve as the foundation

and guide for future studies in a field which forms an integral part of the history of culture.

KARL LUDWIG SELIG

University of Texas

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- American Dreams: A Study of American Utopias.* By VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON, JR. Providence, Rhode Island. Brown University Studies, Volume XI. 1947. Pp. viii + 234. \$4.00.
- Joseph Priestley and the Problem of Pantisocracy.* By MARY CATHRYNE PARK. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1947. Pp. 60.

"The initial impetus for this study," writes Mr. Parrington, "was the unfinished third volume of my father's *Main Currents in American Thought*." Beginning with the writers mentioned in his father's chapter on Edward Bellamy—part of a projected section on "The Quest for Utopia"—the author extended his work "to include Bellamy's predecessors, as well as some of those who have come after."

That extension has carried him over a considerable area, from the time of John Eliot's *The Christian Commonwealth* (1659)—or earlier, if his allusions to immigration pamphlets are taken as the point of departure—to that of Franz Werfel's *Star of the Unborn* (1946). There is a place, there was a need for some such extensive survey, since previous studies, such as Robert Shurter's excellent but unpublished study, *The Utopian Novel in America, 1865-1900*, had dealt intensively with only some limited period or area of Utopian writing. To have the whole range of our Utopian fiction viewed in one survey is an obvious convenience. Likewise convenient, and valuable as reference, are the descriptions of a number of Utopian novels which, in themselves, are hardly required reading except for the student of some problem involving them. Other passages, such as those on such colorful though secondary figures as Ignatius Donnelly, have their own intrinsic interest. And still others suggest possible new fields of study, as does the brief account of publisher's policy in the section on Charles H. Kerr and Company.

As the book has the values of a largely pioneer study, so it has the limitations. The bibliography of Utopian fiction, as the author would readily acknowledge, could no doubt be enlarged. More serious than these natural limitations is the author's failure to treat originally, or even adequately, the great Utopians George and Bellamy, and his failure to relate them or others, in a really profound and illuminating way, to the great enveloping movements of feeling and thought that run through American history.

And equally serious is the occasional lapse into error or dubious

generalization. For example, the summary of Howell's attitude toward social improvement closes as follows: "Education will show us eventually how to effect changes in the system. In the meantime there is nothing to do but remain cheerful and confident — and contribute to worthy charities." Such a passage, though it may be true to the occasional letter of Howells, does violence to the entire emphasis and spirit of a novelist one of whose main themes was the insufficiency of charity. When, furthermore, Mr. Parrington finds a causal relationship between "the ferment which the Utopians helped to stir up" and the attitudes of the generation "not only of Dreiser, but also of Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens and Edith Wharton," he is assuming that we know a great deal more than we actually do know about the workings of literary cause and effect. And when he remarks that in 1885 "a social conscience was a relatively new phenomenon in the United States," the rash commitment suggests its own refutation.

Notwithstanding these lapses, the book has its value as the unique presentation, in one continuous survey, of American Utopian writing extending through nearly three centuries.

A quite different kind of book is Mary Cathryne Park's *Joseph Priestley and the Problem of Pantisocracy*. A Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation, it studies intensively one limited problem, and does so with a maximum of documented accuracy and a minimum of dubious generalization. The effect of Miss Park's study is to show that the Pantisocratic dream of the youthful Coleridge and Southey was associated with the actual settlement in Pennsylvania of Joseph Priestley and others. The young men's ideas of emigration were given concrete direction by the work of Priestley's son-in-law, Thomas Cooper, in *Some Information Respecting America*; their choice of a location on the Susquehanna was the choice Cooper had already made and effected in large purchases of land. Although quoted passages underscore, as Miss Park herself does not, the contrast between the practicality of Cooper and the volatile, imaginative response of the young poets, she successfully establishes her thesis that Pantisocracy was closer to the real than has usually been thought. But she has done more than just that. With no apparent effort to write interestingly, she has nonetheless written interestingly. And with no evident imaginative aim, she has nonetheless succeeded, by fidelity to her material and by fullness of apt quotation, in bringing vividly alive some parts of the great era of revolution in France and opportunity on the American frontier.

WALTER F. TAYLOR

Blue Mountain College

Fletcher, Beaumont & Company: Entertainers to the Jacobean Gentry. By LAWRENCE B. WALLIS. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 315. \$3.75.

In the first two chapters of the first section of his book, Mr. Wallis traces the reputation of Beaumont and Fletcher from the extravagant esteem accorded them through most of the seventeenth century, through their practically complete loss of critical approval during the eighteenth century, to an interest reawakened in the nineteenth principally by Charles Lamb's *Specimens*. This 19th century revival is in large part a by-product of an enthusiasm for Shakespeare—an enthusiasm which, for the light their plays threw on Shakespeare's, led critics and scholars to the works of his contemporaries. In the last chapter of this section Wallis notes how Beaumont and Massinger have risen and Fletcher fallen in modern critical approval, and how Marlowe and Webster, "so long unknown, today take precedence even of Beaumont."

In the second part, Mr. Wallis restudies the Beaumont and Fletcher plays in their milieu, analyzes in great detail several of the plays, and offers both a convincing explanation of their popularity in the seventeenth century and a sound estimate of their place in the history of English drama. "It was their particular point in time," Mr. Wallis urges, ". . . as much as their gentlemanly breeding, education, and social outlook, which made both Fletcher and Beaumont entertainers to the gentry in special" (p. 133). Because they were themselves gentlemen, and because both as spectators in and authors for the more aristocratic audiences of the children's company at the Blackfriars, they had learned to understand the Blackfriars' audience, and so were better able to cater to them when writing for the adult company which moved into that theatre.

The dramatists whose influence upon them is most clearly seen were those then writing for the children's company, Jonson, Chapman, Marston, and Middleton. It was, however, Shakespeare's *Pericles*, the sensational elements of which "comprise, in part, the narrative ingredients of the *Arcadia*," which, Mr. Wallis thinks, "set Beaumont and Fletcher to thinking about the possibilities of romantic drama, and so to devising a tragicomic mode which would appeal to theatregoers" (p. 169). Preferring to accept Thorndike's view that *Philaster* influenced *Cymbeline*, he suggests that, even though *Cymbeline* may have been presented first, Shakespeare, in his capacity as adviser to his company, may have read the Beaumont and Fletcher play previous to composing *Cymbeline*. Even less satisfactory, I feel, is his urging, to support Thorndike's view, the theory that the two quartos of *Philaster* and the double entry, under both "*Philaster*" and "*Love lyes a bleeding*," among the fourteen plays presented at Court in 1613, suggest that there were two versions of *Philaster*, that "Fletcher (perhaps aided by Field or

another) wrote an unsatisfactory first version . . . under the title of *Love Lies a-Bleeding*, and that Beaumont then reworked the whole play, with advice and help from his comrade, for the King's Men" (p. 197). Alternate titles do not, I believe, offer prima facie evidence of revision. Further, although not noted by Mr. Wallis, among the fourteen plays for which Heminge was paid are named "Much adoe aboute nothinge" and "Sir John ffalstaffe," while on the same day (20 May) the following entry records payment to Heming for a "Benedicte and Betteris" and a "Hotspur" (Chambers, iv, 180). It is hardly likely that each of three plays was in a short season presented in two forms. Finally, as the *Philaster* of Q₂ is closer to *Cymbeline* than is that of Q₁ (the evidence for this is presented in a doctoral thesis just completed at Iowa), if the two quartos of *Philaster* represent the two versions, one before and one after *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare must have borrowed from Fletcher's original and Beaumont in his revision have borrowed from Shakespeare. Possible, but hardly probable.

Naturally Mr. Wallis has comparatively little to say about the comedies in the canon; rather he stresses the tragicomedies and tragedies which have in the past provoked both the most extravagant praise and the bitterest condemnation. The critics responsible for today's general estimate of Fletcher and Beaumont achieved no historical point of view, but, prejudiced by the characteristics of their own age, failed to discover what the early seventeenth century recognized, that Fletcher and company were master craftsmen, whose "major aims as playwrights were: to select piquant situations and arresting, contrasted passions from the abundant stock of these in tales and other plot-sources . . . ; to handle these technically with all the up-to-date theatrical devices they could muster; and to shape their treasure-trove to the taste of upper-class spectators, to many of whom Sidney's masterpiece was familiar. And what was this, in one sense, but a return to the tradition of the *Arcadia*?" (p. 146).

No little energy and time must be consumed in consulting the 1071 footnotes arranged according to chapters at the end of the volume. Sometimes one may suspect needless annotation (*vide* note 5 in Chapter v), or wish that a system had been devised for separating those notes which contain discussion from those which merely cite reference; but Mr. Wallis seems to have handled a truly terrifying amount of detail with care and accuracy.

BALDWIN MAXWELL

University of Iowa

"*Paradise Lost*" and its Critics. By A. J. A. WALDOCK. Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. 147. \$2.25.

To summarize and evaluate critical work on *Paradise Lost* is no easy task, especially when a scholar not only confines himself to the most challenging and controversial theories of the last thirty years, but chooses to pit against them his own equally strong opinions, and so finds himself in the vulnerable position of one who must be at the same time umpire, historian, and contestant in the field. *Paradise Lost and its Critics*, however, proves that it can be done—and done with such courtesy and good management that the book resembles nothing so much as that fine intellectual free-for-all that might have taken place if Greenlaw, Saurat, Williams, Tillyard, Lewis, and the rest had been able to sit down with the author and thrash out their differences in a common room or a faculty club.

Professor Waldoock brings to this great argument a remarkably level head, a keen eye for emotional bias or logical fallacy, and a firm grasp on one essential principle: all that matters in the long run is what Milton actually succeeds in communicating to the reader. He has every respect for those who try to explain or "rescue" *Paradise Lost* by reference to the poet's humanism, "unconscious meanings," or conscious theological intentions; but he never forgets that a critic's primary concern should be with Milton's ultimate achievement. Hence, he quarrels with Lewis and Williams for assuming too readily that Milton's intentions usually justify his performance, and with Greenlaw, Saurat, Tillyard, and Miss Bodkin for holding views which necessitate forcing or over-simplification of the plain text. None of them, he feels, pays enough attention to the simple fact that Milton was in some respects an inferior technician confronted by problems which he failed to solve. In the first place, he chose a subject almost impossible to present as an extended, third-person narrative. Then, instead of playing down its intrinsic difficulties as Dante had, he enlarged and underlined them by clumsy handling. His presentation of God was tactless, his treatment of such matters as the war in heaven, the corporeality of the angels, and the nature of hell, frequently contradictory and confusing. He made the mistake of "alleging" the virtue or vice of his characters instead of "demonstrating" it; indeed, his demonstrations often gave the lie to his allegations, especially when he was dealing with Satan and Adam. No psychological tensions or theological presuppositions can justify such blunders, or do anything but help to explain why he was so blind to their nature and their consequences.

Criticism of this type is especially valuable at a time when many scholars are excitedly spinning with air and need to be sharply reminded that, to an unenchanted eye, the Emperor still *has* no clothes on. Like his opponents, however, Professor Waldoock occa-

sionally drives his thesis rather hard: for instance, his argument that Satan is not a successful study in progressive degeneration is much less convincing than his reasons for believing the war in heaven inconsistently imagined; few will agree that certain minor failures or discrepancies are really so serious as he evidently thinks they are; and his basic standard of judgment—the unforced response of readers to the impressions they receive—is formulated far too exclusively in terms of the *modern* reader's responses, which are not necessarily those of the audience for which *Paradise Lost* was originally intended. But even at his most debatable, Professor Waldock is always intelligent and exciting, while at his best, he offers much of great importance: a shrewd analysis of Milton's literary problems, a timely emphasis on their significance, and a discriminating appraisal of both the strengths and the weaknesses of his fellow critics. Certainly, they (and we) may all thank him, as he thanks his colleagues in his introduction, "for the clarification and stimulus that come from friendly but energetic controversy."

ELIZABETH MARIE POPE

Mills College

BRIEF MENTION

Novalis, Hymns to the Night. Translated by MABEL COTTERELL with an Introduction and Appreciation by AUGUST CLOSS. London: Phoenix Press, 1948. Pp. 60. 7/6. Students of Romanticism, not able to read the somewhat difficult original, are indebted to the inspired translator, the spirited editor, and the Phoenix Press for this handsomely bound and printed slender volume of Novalis' *Hymns to the Night*. A close examination of the original and its English rendering on opposite pages shows with what facility and precision without the loss of the rhythm, verse melody, and the poetic imagery of Novalis Miss Cotterell has accomplished her task. There seems to be just one slight deviation from the text when the subjunctives "erklänge doch" and "ruften uns" (p. 52) are rendered in the indicative "far distances are ringing . . . and stars the summons singing," which could have been easily changed to "that distances were ringing . . . and stars the summons singing." With the exception of two eye-rhymes (beloved-proved, unkind-wind) there is no constraint in either syntax or vocabulary in the rhyming. The translation reads as spontaneous and fresh as the original.

Professor Closs' warm and rhapsodic introduction, packed with information and allusion, may prove somewhat difficult reading to the uninitiated if he be lacking in a knowledge of the philosophical and religious premises for the spiritual world of Novalis. He rightly

says that "Christian religion is to Novalis a religion of ecstasy." Whether the path of Novalis is the right path "for us today and above all for the Germans," as Mr. Closs believes, seems to me open to doubt. To be sure, "no reconstruction plans from without can rescue them from chaos." But the combination of ecstatic fervor and cool and exact scientific thinking with such a pure and childlike soul in a Novalis is an exceptional and unique phenomenon; it is perhaps the climax of German Romanticism, after which the decline sets in that leads to the dangerous social and political theory of an Adam Müller and, as Mr. Closs seems to recognize on p. 12, to Schopenhauer's pessimism and in the end to Wagner's pernicious music. Whether the overburdening of the German mind with romantic ecstasy does not need the disciplined Goethean vision and his mentorship for a sober and unassuming socially minded activity as a corrective is a grave question which the disaster of the last decades has raised for serious consideration.

ERNST FEISE

The Renaissance Philosophy of Man. Edited by ERNST CASSIRER, PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, and JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. viii + 405. \$5.00. "The purpose of this volume is to acquaint the student of philosophy with certain major thinkers of the early Italian Renaissance through English translations of some of their more important works" (p. v). To this end are offered translations of Petrarch's *On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others*, Valla's *Dialogue on Free Will*, Ficino's *Five Questions Concerning the Mind*, Pico's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, Pomponazzi's *On the Immortality of the Soul*, and Vives' *Fable about Man*. So far as the book conforms to its stated purpose it is admirable. Four of these works have not hitherto been available in English, and prior translations of the other two are not readily accessible. The translations are, without exception, sound. Some may be checked not only against the original but against versions in other languages (e.g. the Edizione Nazionale of Pico); such a check reveals the illuminating care exercised by the present translators. The resultant text is of value not only to students of philosophy but to all students of the Renaissance.

Vives does not fall within "the early Italian Renaissance" and his inclusion accentuates the book's tendency toward miscellany. The space might have been given to something by Pietro d'Abano or perhaps to Pico's letter to Ermalao Barbaro, and Vives reserved for a succeeding volume of sixteenth century selections. A more noticeable departure from the avowed purpose of acquaintance through translation is the insertion of a general introduction to the volume plus an introductory essay for each text, which results

in 72 pages of essay for 298 pages of text. The compression necessitated in the essays themselves is not without danger. Such a statement as: "The teaching of the medieval Italian universities was scientific and often anticlerical in its interests, and to such interests the Humanists were opposing their own religious and moral aims," (p. 4) is likely to be misinterpreted by students whose ideas are still drawn primarily from Burckhardt and Symonds. The remedy is reference to the articles, cited in the bibliography, wherein the several editors have adduced the supporting evidence and made the requisite qualifications and exceptions. With such supplemental reading this volume becomes an important contribution to a concept of the Renaissance now only beginning to take form among scholars whose primary concern is with the literature or art of the period.

EDWARD WILLIAMSON

The Johns Hopkins University

Matthew Arnold: A Study. By E. K. CHAMBERS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947. Pp. 144, including genealogical chart and index. \$3.50. Although this volume appeared over a year ago, it has received almost no attention in scholarly journals. Professor Basil Willey in the *London Spectator* (Oct. 10, 1947) with some justification calls it "an unpretending book" that was probably a "labour of love," a "parergon thrown off by a great scholar long distinguished in other fields." It offers no decidedly new illumination of Arnold or his works and fails to consider the arguments of a good many recent studies; moreover the author admits that there are collections of material, notably at Yale, which he has not been able to consult. Yet the book should not be completely ignored, for it presents judicious conclusions that have matured during quite a few years of sympathetic interest in Arnold.

The work consists primarily of compact and lucid biographical narrative, supported by concisely developed evidence. The chapters on "The Public Servant" and "The Professor" embody a certain amount of information not readily obtainable elsewhere and are on the whole more satisfying than those on "The Poet" and "The Philosopher." The last mentioned chapter does little more than summarize Arnold's prose works dealing with religious, social, and political questions; it makes slight effort to discuss their terms, concepts, and method of argument. Statements concerning Arnold's literary criticism, to be found scattered throughout the volume, are of the same limited nature. In the chapter on "The Poet" the commentaries upon individual poems are much less detailed than those in the study by Professors Tinker and Lowry, though some suggest corrections of that study. More often than not, these

commentaries deal only with the relationship of the poems to biographical incidents. The reader will find in the volume no thorough analyses of poems or prose works as literary structures.

The fact remains that this study may well prove a useful introductory discussion, to be read by students prior to analyzing the more complex and provocative interpretations of Arnold's personality, thought, and art by Professors Trilling and E. K. Brown.

LLOYD DAVIDSON

The Johns Hopkins University

A Bibliography of William Dean Howells. By WILLIAM M. GIBSON and GEORGE ARMS. New York: The New York Public Library, 1948. Pp. 182. \$2.25. Reprinted with revisions and additions from issues of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library (1946-47), this compilation includes a checklist of Howells' works and partial works, and of his contributions to periodicals, newspapers, and "departments" (5 pp.); a collation of this material (142 pp.), brief in form; and a selected list of critical writings on Howells—some 250 items from a total of about 800 examined. It supplies four illustrations, an identification of Howells' pseudonyms, and is concluded by a name index which lists the illustrators of Howells' books and magazine pieces.

The original aim to include all Howells' published writings was modified by war conditions, and English editions and foreign translations have been omitted. Purposely excluded are "books of reprinted material issued without Howells' editorial direction," though such items are noted in the preface. Although a great many unsigned periodical items may not have been identified, many were examined, the preface states, and discarded as not indubitably by Howells. The listing begins with verses published in the *Ohio State Journal* in 1852, and concludes with the nine items published in the last year of his life and the few posthumously issued pieces. During the 68 years of continuous authorship, the compilers note, "about 200 books wholly or in part by Howells and 1200 periodical pieces were published." The establishment of the Howells canon therefore is important. Attention might here be drawn to the fact that no collection of Howells' writing has been published, and that many of his letters (including his diplomatic correspondence) still remain in manuscript.

The user of the *Bibliography* should read the preface with attention. It sets forth the method of selection and collation, and serves admirably as a model of procedure for those who, one hopes, will undertake similar bibliographies of major writers.

THOMAS H. JOHNSON

Lawrenceville, New Jersey

The Satiric and Didactic in Ben Jonson's Comedy. By HELENA WATTS BAUM. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. vi + 192. \$3.50. The virtue of this book is its analysis of the stages by which Jonson evolved a dramatic technique that was at once comic, satiric, and didactic. This analysis does not come until the final chapter; the earlier chapters, therefore, dealing with Jonson's theory of comic poetry and cataloguing the chief objects of his satire, are unnecessarily long and prevent the proper emphasis being accorded to the principal contribution of the author's study. Since Jonson's theory of comedy required that a play be essentially serious and didactic in content, the satirizing of human follies and vices inevitably becomes integral to his comic method. Mrs. Baum traces Jonson's experiments to achieve a technique that would be a perfect balance and fusion of thought-provoking content, mordant satire, and comic gaiety, so that the element of moral instruction in his plays would not detract from their effectiveness as theatrical entertainment. She shows how his earlier attempts in *The Case Is Altered*, *Every Man in His Humour*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *Poetaster* fell short of his goal. Finally, in *Volpone*, Jonson mastered the playwright's craft by discovering how to give full expression to the didactic content of his plays by devices peculiar to the art of the theater. Realizing that he must delight in order to teach, he worked out, by trial and error, the dramatic technique best suited to accomplish his artistic purpose.

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

Stanford University

Troilus and Criseyde. By GEOFFREY CHAUCER. Extracts selected and edited by GEORGES BONNARD. Bern [1943]. 104 pp. Fr. 4.80 [\$1.50]. This edition of the *Troilus*, obviously designed for non-English-speaking students, carries on the grim Continental tradition of heavy emphasis on linguistic matters to the exclusion of all else. The text (85 pages) is based on Root's, but the editor has departed from it frequently by restoring the ψ readings whenever he feels that they are closer to Chaucer's own writing of the poem. Variant readings at the bottom of the page make possible a careful study of the text and eight pages of explanatory notes plus eight of glossary aid in the exegesis. It is discouraging, however, to find in this edition of a major poet no attempt whatsoever to discuss the literary qualities of the poem or even to call attention to their existence. Assuredly a brief bibliography would be especially useful to the students for whom this work is intended, but all they will find here are the titles of Brunner's and Jordan's grammars, the Robinson, Root, and Skeat texts, and Ten Brink's *Sprache und Verskunst*. Probably no two individuals would agree on precisely what parts of the poem should be excerpted for a text of this sort,

but, in general, the editor has chosen well and has provided brief prose summaries to suggest the continuity of the poem. It is difficult, however, to understand his omitting one of the most impressive passages in the *Troilus*, its conclusion.

THOMAS A. KIRBY

Louisiana State University

Adami Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum, Codex Havniensis, published in photolithography with preface by C. A. CHRISTENSEN. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948. Pp. xvi + 130. This facsimile edition of the Copenhagen codex of Adam of Bremen is a welcome addition to our all too limited stock of medieval Latin publications. As Professor Christensen points out in his preface, students of Adam's book will now be able to compare Schmeidler's text with the text as recorded in one of the oldest MSS. The codex now made available to us is not only old; it is our chief source of information for the C branch of the MS tradition. The editor gives us a concise and carefully reasoned study of the C class, and is able to throw much new light on the subject and clear up a number of doubtful points. In particular, he shows that this class of MSS goes back to a copy of Adam of Bremen's work which reached Denmark between the years 1805 and 1180. This copy is no longer in existence, but many if not most of its characteristic readings have come down to us, chiefly in the Copenhagen codex (Schmeidler's C₁). Editor and publishers alike are to be congratulated on this book.

K. M.

The Cycles of the Kings. By MYLES DILLON. London and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1946. Pp. viii + 124. \$3.25. This is a book of selections from the historical sagas of Old Ireland (excluding the Ulster cycle, already known to the general public). The editor has himself made the translations into English; the Irish texts are not given, for "the book is intended not primarily for Irish scholars, but rather for the larger public" (p. v). Professor Dillon happily combines scholarly competence with a good English style and sensitive literary taste. His little volume is an admirable example of its kind, and can be warmly recommended.

K. M.

Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers, 1300-1500. By LAURA KEELER. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1946. viii + 151. \$1.75. This study falls into four main parts: (1) authors who "draw freely upon Geoffrey of Monmouth without questioning his reliability"; (2) authors who "draw freely upon Geoffrey but question certain passages"; (3) authors who, "though they do not explicitly question Geoffrey's reliability, draw upon him for a specific purpose only, usually political"; and (4) authors who, "conscious of the fictitious character of the *Historia*, expose the true nature of its fables" (pp. vii, viii). Under each head Miss Keeler takes up the individual chronicles and specifies how the chronicler used Geoffrey as a source: what he took, what he left out, what changes he made. She adds three pages of summary statement of her finds by way of conclusion. This is followed by 20 pages of notes, five appendices, a bibliography, and an index. We have here a solid and useful piece of work.

K. M.

Initiation pratique à l'anglais. By ANDRÉ MARTINET. IAC, Rue Victor-Lagrange, Lyon, 1947. Pp. 315. = Collection "Les Langues du Monde" publiée sous la direction de Henri Hierche. Série enseignement pratique. Volume I. In this practical introduction to the English language the author prints three texts: *Lispeth* by Rudyard Kipling, *Sixpence* by Katherine Mansfield, and *The Worst Crime in the World* by G. K. Chesterton. He breaks these stories up in small pieces, suitable for a lesson, annotating each of them for grammar, pronunciation, and meaning. At the end of the book there is an index of words with references to the notes of each lesson, and a short systematic grammar. The experiment is interesting for its attempt to plunge the student headlong into interesting prose texts of the foreign language. It seems to be done with care.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

The Johns Hopkins University

Monroe's Defense of Jefferson and Freneau against Hamilton. Edited by PHILIP M. MARSH. (Oxford, Ohio, privately printed, 1948. Pp. 56, \$1.50.) This pamphlet's main value is not so much in Mr. Marsh's account of the Freneau controversy, which is rather confusing, as in the fact that it contains extensive excerpts from Hamilton's charges, and, what is more valuable, the text of the six essays comprising the "Vindication of Mr. Jefferson." Thus much material, otherwise difficult to find, is conveniently assembled in one place. Mr. Marsh cites two of Monroe's letters to show that Monroe

wrote part of the "Vindication." He believes that Madison wrote the rest (accounting, if Mr. Marsh is right, for such a large part of the total that one wonders why Madison's name is excluded from the pamphlet's title), and that Madison and Monroe had much the better of the controversy with Hamilton.

CHARLES S. CAMPBELL, JR.

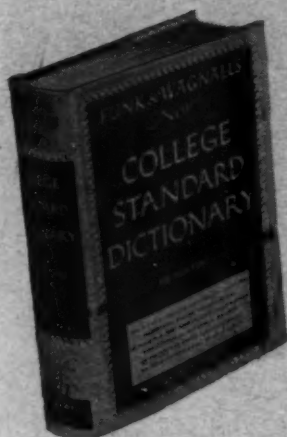
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THE CENSUS OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, compiled by the late Seymour De Ricci with the assistance of W. J. Wilson and published in two volumes in 1935 and '37, with Index volume in 1940, is now outdated. A *Supplement* to the *Census* is now being prepared under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies with C. U. Faye of the University of Illinois Library Staff as editor. The *Supplement* will contain descriptions of manuscripts not listed in the *Census* and amplifications and emendations of entries in the *Census*. The *Supplement* will, as the *Census* did, exclude from its scope: manuscripts written after 1600, Oriental manuscripts, papyri and epigraphic material. Material to be included in the *Supplement* should, if possible, reach the editor by 1 May 1949.

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